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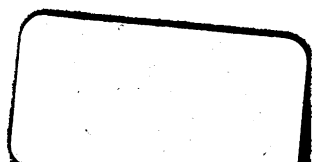
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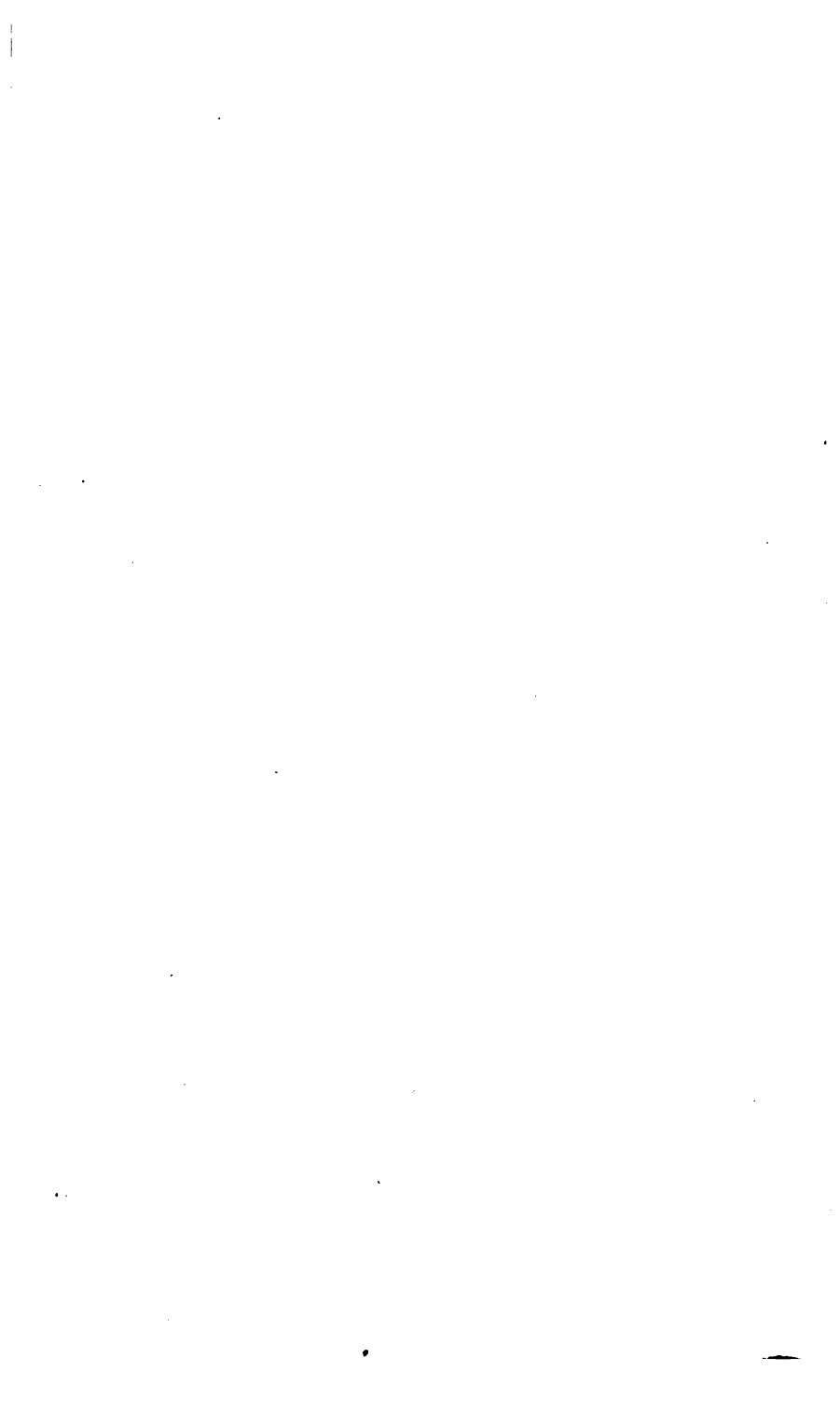
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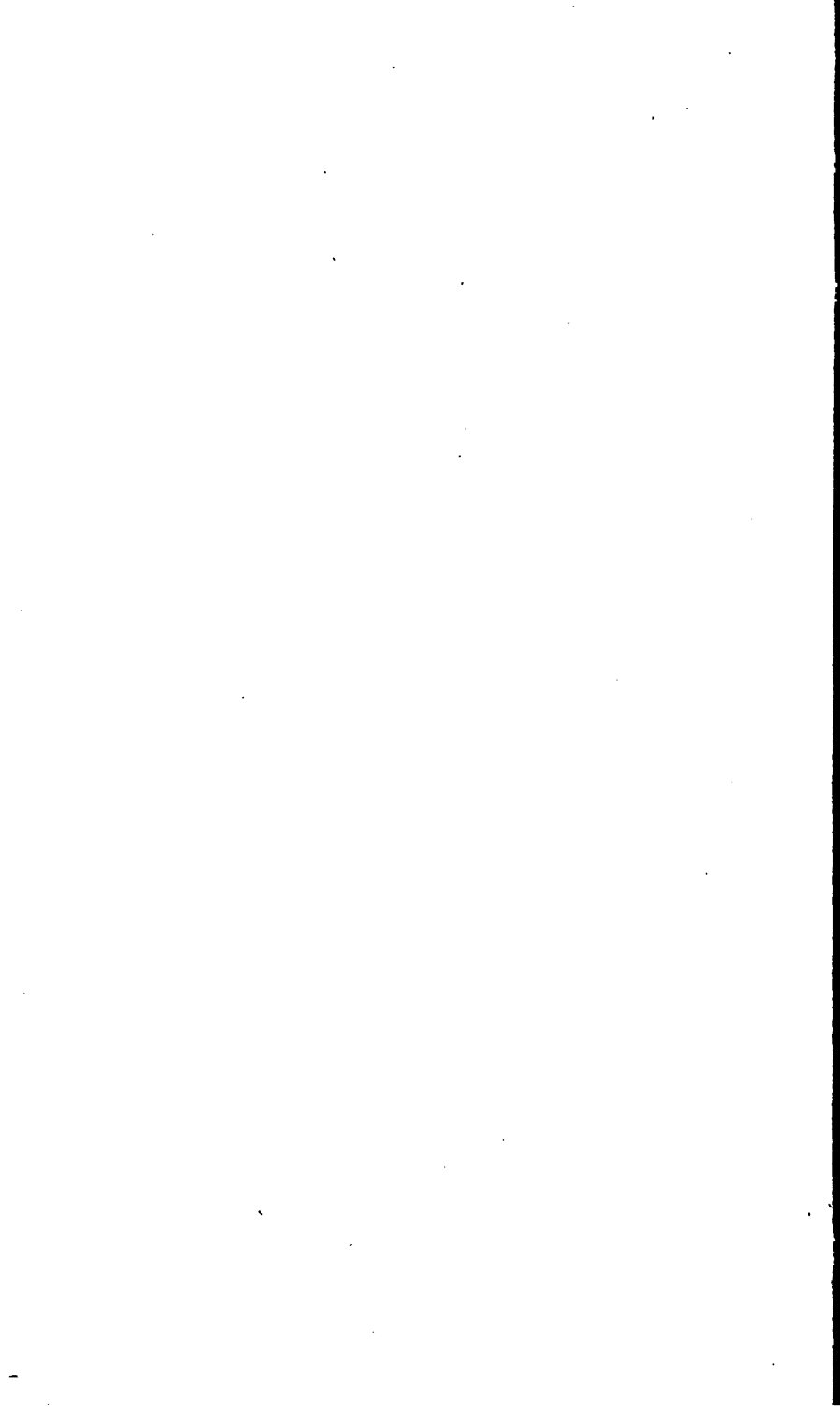


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A
LETTER

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR JOHN NEWPORT, BART.

ON THE
EMBARRASSING SITUATION AND PROSPECTS
OF THE

PRESENT MINISTRY:

WITH
PARTICULAR REFLECTIONS
ON THE
DISTRESSED STATE OF IRELAND.



BY AN IRISHMAN.



O miseras Hominum mentes! O pectora cæca!
Qualibus in Tenebris vitæ, quantisque Periclis,
Degitur hoc Ævi quodcunque est!

LUCRETIVS.



Dublin.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JOHN NEWPORT, BART.

Esq. Esq. Esq.

SIR,

THE attention you have paid to the credit of the Church in general, though not perhaps to the interests of its dignitaries in particular, and the compassionate regard you have shewn to the situation of the poor of this country, have made me very much your friend. You voted for the Union, it is true; it was a measure which I, with the generality of unprejudiced *Irishmen*, deprecated; but the general tenour of your character inclines me to give you credit for your good intentions, and to believe, that, at the time you voted for the Union, you did so from principle. Having some idle time, and an opportunity of making many observations on the state of this country, I think I cannot address them to a more fit person than to you. I have been led by the duties of my station to converse much with the poorer sort of people; indeed I converse with them almost exclusively, for I, myself, am poor. I know well it would be useful for you to know their views and temper, their hopes, fears and expectations.

The Ministry, to which you now appertain, is composed of the most distinguished men in the *British* Empire; but, among all the great and shining qualities which eminently adorn them, there is none which shines more conspicuous than their political courage.—Courage! it is too mean, too cold a term, for the heroism

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of

Recd. 6 Oct. 1791

of self-devotion evidenced in succeeding to the breach, when all the elements of public salvation are in convulsion, and crashing around them!—*Si fractus illabatur orbis impavidos ferient ruinae!*—This nobly adventurous conduct, I am convinced, proceeds from no selfish motive—no rapacious cupidity of office—but, from a sincere desire of serving, and, if possible, saving their unfortunate Country. The hazards attending it are so great, the contemplation is so appalling to the firmest nerves, that I am reminded of what I read in my school books of *Curtius*, who voluntarily plunged into the gulph—and of *Horatius Cocles*, who encountered an host on the broken bridge. Before I turn your particular attention to the state of *Ireland*, it may not be amiss to take a brief review of the general dangers and difficulties, which the present Ministry must be prepared to encounter.

The very first point of difficulty and danger which I shall point out may perhaps surprise you.—It is the very exalted opinion which the world in general, and more especially British subjects, entertain of the talents, resources, and patriotism of the persons now in power. The public expectations are on the stretch; and the more highly people rate the abilities of Ministers, the more apt will they be to think every thing practicable to them, and attainable by them; and thus, to form very unreasonable expectations, and to be very rash and very severe in censure, if these expectations should be frustrated.

The situation of any set of Ministers, who, after being many years in opposition, and in the habit of reprobating the measures of their predecessors, are called into their places, and required to substitute something better of their own, for the systems and plans which they have daily and hourly exploded, is not a little critical. It is easy to find defects in any of the works of man; they are all, like himself, full of imperfection.—It is easy to expose these defects with eloquence and strength of reason: but, to substitute for the faulty *present* some faultless or even more perfect *future*—*hoc opus—hic labor*. An opposition too is always popular with the multitude; the

the people are ever querulous, ever dissatisfied with their Rulers, sore under their burthens, and gratified with the censure of those above them. They will, therefore, soon begin to reprobate the very men in place, whom they had loudly encouraged with their plaudits, in opposition. The even-handed justice of the multitude will be disposed to recommend the ingredients of the *poisoned chalice of Reformation to their own lips*. Thus will all the censures of the present on the past Ministry fall back on their heads; and their superior talents will place them on an elevation, where their failings and defects will be presented more conspicuously to the scrutinizing eyes of the malignant :

“ Who here
Will envy whom the highest place exposes
Foremost to stand against the Thunderer’s
Aim ?”

MILTON,

Should Ministry attempt to silence or appease the clamours of those, who will be open-mouthed and trumpet-tongued to decry them—some, for doing too much, some, for doing too little; by representing the miserable plight* in which their predecessors had left the inheritance of power—by stating, that they had succeeded to dilapidated resources and hopes; instantly, a new battery will be opened against them.—They will be arraigned with virulence by their enemies, as men, who rejoice in the calamities of the country; as cowards, who despair of the Republic; as traitors, who betray the nakedness of the land; they will be accused of endeavouring to overcharge the picture of the public distress and difficulties, with the base and unworthy view of concluding an inglorious peace, which shall compromise the honour and best interests of the *British* empire at the feet of *France*. A nest of hornets will immediately rise about their ears, and they will be reduced to the dilemma, of covering and concealing the faults and blunders of their predecessors, which they are endeavouring to

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repair;

* Mr. Fox was enraged at the expression of “ bed of roses,”

repair; and of bending, in silence, under the weight of miscarriages, not their own; or, of submitting to be traduced, as the concealed enemies of the country, whose confidence and counsels they possess—as men who damp the public spirit, and public hopes, with the base intention of concluding a hasty and dishonourable peace, which shall compromise the glory and interests of the Nation, at the feet of *France*.* Every statement which they may make in their own justification, for the harsh measures they shall be obliged to adopt, and the burthens which it will be necessary to impose, will be called intelligence to the enemies of the Country, encouraging them to new exertions, and teaching them to insist on exorbitant terms of peace. We have seen this mode of attack already adopted in some of the public prints, which belong to some of the minor adherents of the late Ministry—these topics are urged in the *Courier* with some art, and much malignity.†

In fact, the peculiar circumstances of the present Ministry have led them to add to their own embarrassments in this respect, and to deprive themselves, in great part, of the benefit of such a plea, by the close connexion of a great and eminent Member of the present Cabinet, indeed I would call him the ruling Member of it, with the great Minister lately deceased. It became impossible to reprobate the measures of the preceding Administration as fully, and in terms of such asperity, as perhaps they deserved, or as would certainly have been useful to a new Administration differently circumstanced, by way of founding the plea of difficulty and distress, and shifting the weight of censure on the shoulders of their predecessors.

It is acknowledged, that the late Mr. *Pitt* was the guiding soul, the domineering spirit of the Administration to which he belonged. His companions in the Cabinet

* Lord *Castlereagh* was fully aware of this advantage over the new Ministry.

† A large Pamphlet on the State of the Nation, written, as it is said, under the auspices of Mr. *Fox*, for the purpose of reconciling the people to peace, has been circulated with great diligence, and already past five editions.

binet were but cyphers, to increase the sum total of his greatness—they were mere tools and instruments in his hands, which he wielded at his pleasure. Much of the demerits of that Administration, therefore, must be referable to him, and it must be the height of injustice to punish, or even censure, the subordinate living delinquents, while the memory of the great offender (if offences did come) not only escapes with impunity and silence, through the reverence due to those who sleep in the tomb, but is decorated with the highest honours. If we view in the late Ministers the prostrators of *England*—the benefactors of *France*—the aggrandizers of *Napoleon*—the demons of the Continent of Europe—the multipliers of our national debt, beyond the powers of arithmetic—the distributors of mendicity, and augmenters of the number of paupers beyond the powers of sustenance. If their measures have been a tissue of mismanagement, and consequent disgrace and disappointment—if the æra of Mr. Pitt's reign, as I may call it, has been marked with these strange and stupendous disasters, which must be felt to the end of time, and deplored by the most remote posterity—if we are at length brought to that pass that every man has set before his eyes death or slavery, and is called upon, in the most urgent strains, to risque his last shilling, and last drop of blood to rescue the empire from the chains of an insulting foe.* At this moment, Mr. Pitt, who has been pointed out as the author of these awful visitations, and unprecedented calamities, Mr. Pitt, to whose measures the present Ministers will endeavour to refer their difficulties—Mr. Pitt lies in state, his large debts are to be discharged by a grateful and admiring public—he is to be buried with triumphal honours—a stately monument is to rise to his memory—a statue is to perpetuate his ominous form, as if it would not live too long in the tortured memory of widows and orphans.—He is to receive such marks of national gratitude, as should be consecrated exclusively to heroes who have died in the arms of victory—such marks

* Cobbet says—that Mr. Pitt, and he alone, has introduced a question new to *Englishmen*—“whether they are to be the slaves of *France*?”

marks of national gratitude as were really due to that great and wise statesman, and true patriot—that boast of his country, his illustrious and immortal FATHER.

Mr. Fox, it is true, with that clearness of judgment and intuitive wisdom which characterises all his words and actions, perceived this inconsistency, and the future inconvenience which might result from it; and with great ability endeavoured to stem the torrent of incongruous, posthumous adulation.—But here observe a strange phenomenon of rather ominous import—I most sincerely wish and pray for the stability of the new Ministry; but a powerful difference of sentiment, marked by the decisive parliamentary measure of a division, on a question in the House of Commons at their very first outset, impresses me with fears for their future concord. I think Mr. Fox has too much honesty to purchase a continuance in office, by the surrender of his principles. I know the suavity of temper, the candour, and mildness of nature, which adorn, above all men living, that incomparable patriot, and which qualify him to oppose without asperity; to be opposed, without rancour; to disarm, by benignity; to conciliate, by good humour; and to attach, inseparably attach, to the Man, those who might be disposed to dissent from the Minister. But the good and great men who are associated, from different points of the compass, to compose the new Ministry, formerly differed in their sentiments on most important subjects, as widely as the points of the compass from which they come: and if an inevitable necessity of differing in opinion, and of manifesting their difference by a division of the House of Commons, encountered them at the very threshold of their entrance into office, when it would have been most desirable, had it been practicable, to have preserved a countenance of undivided sentiments, as a pledge of united strength, to the encouragement of their friends, and dismay of their enemies; may not jealousies and differences of opinion arise on other occasions, and appear to the world, notwithstanding all the prudence of some, and the conciliating temper of others of the Cabinet; and may not difference of opinion repeated,

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feſter into diſagreement, beyond all the authority of an *umpire*, or *arbiter*,* however reſpectable, or even revered, to compoſe and reconcile? But I wave the farther proſecution of ſuch remarks, and proceed in my review of the difficulties which ſurround the preſent Miniſtry.

The firſt, in magnitude, is the awful ſituation of the country, reduced to the neceſſity of contending alone, not, as on former occaſions; for power, commerce, or territorial acquiſitions—but, for exiſtence!—We contend with ſuperior phyſical force, directed by very uncommon mental ability. Whether we conſider the extent of territory, or the amount of population, actually and profeſſedly ſubject to *Buonaparte*, in his own name, we find the amount of *British* power, in thoſe reſpects, nearly quadrupled; but, in addition, the preſent Ruler of *France* has ſpread the terror of his arms over *Europe*. He has ſubjected the greater part as completely to his will, as if he were the natural and rightful owner of it.—He goes forth *conquering and to conquer*. He has fenced himſelf round with alliances.—He has made and unmade Kings.—He has ſurrounded the vaſt boundaries of *France*, as they are fixed at preſent, with dependent States and Principalities, as with ſo many garriſons and outpoſts. But the peculiar character and energies of the preſent Ruler of *France* form perhaps the moſt alarming ſubject of ſerious reflection:—Fertile in reſources, artful and profound; ſecret and impenetrable in deliberation; prompt and vigorous in execution, beyond all paſt example; equally grand in the projects of his gigantic ambition, and judicious in the choice of his instruments and means.—He dazzles and confounds his opponents, by the ſplendour and unexpected boldneſs of his ſchemes.—He finds all things poſſible, becauſe he dares to attempt all things.—He overwhelms and proſtrates all oppoſition by the rapidity of his movements; not leſs formidable in the cabinet than the field, we have ſeen wonderful inſtances of his dexterity and addreſs.—He has added all the deep intrigue, and ſubtle refine-

* This will be underſtood by thoſe who are in the ſecret.

refinement of the *Italian* character, to the restless activity and enterprize of the *Frenchman*. His attacks are like visitations from Heaven—his enterprizes like the strokes of destiny.—His progress, like that of a destroying angel, announced by lightning and claps of thunder.—Such is *Buonaparte*—and we have made this man our determined, and perhaps irreconcilable foe.

This war has assumed a new complexion. There is a feature which distinguishes it from most wars that have been waged by England, and gives to it a rancour and determination of animosity, for which we can find few parallels in history.—The war has been made strictly and literally personal to the Emperor of the *French*. It has been professed, that the object was to hurl him from his usurped throne. The public prints, all of which are known to be under the controul, and many of which are supposed to be, or rather to have been, in the pay of the *British* Government, have indulged in a virulence of coarse and outrageous invective, disgraceful to the character of a refined and civilized nation, and calculated for no end but to inflame the spirit of hostility on both sides; and tending to give the object of all this canine rage, and frantic virulence, incalculable advantages, by enabling him to identify himself with the *French* Nation. He tells his people, and that with some plausibility, that all this fury and animosity are directed against him, solely and singly, because he is considered as the man, with whose existence the destinies of *France* are entwined—as the only person who is able to defend them effectually, and counteract the power and the projects of *Britain*.* Thus, while his animosity and energy were inflamed against us, he was armed with weapons by ourselves, to render his animosity more effectual, and recommended to the regard and attachment of all true *Frenchmen*, by motives the most apt to seize on their imaginations, and influence their conduct. Strange as it may seem, I believe the fact was—that the late Mr. *Pitt* had worked himself up into a personal animosity, and

* It may be seen, how artfully he availed himself of this topic, in his Addresses to his Army.

and spirit of rivalry, towards this stupendous adventurer. The trophies and banners of *Buonaparte* seem to have come between him and his rest. They for ever played in his sight, until they disturbed his imagination. Mr. *Pitt* was a man of great political daring, magnificent conceptions, and inordinate ambition. He saw how *Buonaparte* had risen, like a meteor; and his heart withered at the thought. The sobriety of our general character, and the stability of our excellent Constitution, precluded every hope and idea of imitating his progress, or equalling his aggrandisement. Next to that, was the glory of hurling him from his proud eminence, and annihilating this portentous prodigy of modern Revolution. Mr. *Pitt* in *France* might have been a *Robespierre*, *Buonaparte*, or something similar. Having, for our misfortune, been born in *England*, he was the deadly foe of *Buonaparte*; not only as an *Englishman*, but as a proud and ambitious man. Hence, as I have said, the war has unfortunately taken this character and colouring of personal rancour, which may present a considerable obstacle to the attainment of peace.

The destruction of *Buonaparte* was a great and bold conception; had Mr. *Pitt* succeeded in achieving it, he would have stood on higher ground, and been armed with more power, than ever Minister in *England* possessed. He had so inflamed the public feeling, and roused the national animosity to such a pitch, that no sacrifices would have appeared too great for the attainment of this object.—He would, in fact, have been absolute in *England*, under the forms and semblance of the Constitution. As the conception was grand, so the measures for the attainment of the end proposed, were artful and profound. With much secrecy, and equal hypocrisy, one of the greatest combinations was formed and cemented, that ever menaced the destruction of a Sovereign.* Nothing rescued the Emperor of *France* from being annihilated by this formidable league for his destruction, but a penetration more than human, in reading the real

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* The miserable blunders and mismanagement of the confederates, at the particular instigation of the *British* cabinet, most ably seconded the talents and good fortune of *Buonaparte*.

views of the Confederates, through the specious professions of peaceable intention; and an activity more than human, in anticipating their measures. The vast colossal form of coalesced power which had reared its head so suddenly, and frowned on him in so much terror, seemed, to his discerning eyes, but a scare crow, which vainly endeavoured to intimidate his ravening birds of prey, the eagles and vultures of war, that pounced in clouds on the dominions of *Austria*. He smote the gigantic image of strength, composed, as it was, of heterogeneous materials; and immediately it fell to pieces, and the very wrecks of it disappeared. The gold of *Britain*, the warlike steel of *Austria*, the brute informed clay, and hard inert stone of *Russia*, were shivered to fragments, and scattered in the dust. What is the situation of our Empire after the concussion of the tempest, which passed so rapidly over the Continent of *Europe*?—It is like that of the shipwrecked mariner, who has been cast ashore and stunned. When he recovers his senses, he sits on the desolate beach—he gazes wildly around—he looks for the late companions of his voyage, and the tall ship in which they navigated. Nothing meets his eye but lifeless bodies, and floating pieces of the wreck, driven by the wind and tide.*

It will be said, that the proud insular situation of the *British Islands* defies the utmost talent and malignity of *Buonaparte*.—Some hopes may for a time be entertained of a new coalition on the Continent, through the jealousies which seemed to subsist between the Courts of *Paris* and *Berlin*, and zealous animosity, not unmixed with quixotism, of *Russia*; but *Buonaparte* seems to have been aware of the dispositions of *Prussia*, and to have taken his measures with great circumspection to obviate any danger from a renewal of the hostile co-operation of *Russia* and *Austria*. The greatest part of those formidable troops which overran the hereditary States of the *German Emperor*, in so short a space of time, remained in the

* For a full display of the disastrous and hopeless end of the late coalition, and the inability of *England* to form a new one, or contend with *France* single-handed, see Pamphlet on the State of the Nation.

the heart of *Germany*, subsisting themselves without expense to the *French* Exchequer, with a capability of uniting themselves, if occasion should require, in the course of a few days. *Prussia*, whose conduct has been marked by a mysterious duplicity, an uncertain and timid artifice, and an impartial, indiscriminate treachery, acting alike on all sides occasionally, will find, that, duped by his own cunning, and blinded by his own selfish timidity, he has let slip the only opportunity of acting against *France*, with effect. The Councils of *Prussia* have ever been dictated by artifice and self-interest. She has grown to the rank of a great Power by the struggles and animosities of her contending neighbours. The profound artifice and political dexterity of *Buonaparte*, will be here manifest. The King of *Prussia* did not mean to break the ancient ties, which have always drawn the Sovereigns of that Country towards *France*. The diplomacy of *England* has been too generally the sport of foreigners: it was so on this occasion. *Prussia* entertained the propositions of *England* without any serious intention of risking a war with *France* to gratify *Russia* and *England*. But his sordid policy did not allow him even to serve his friends gratuitously—he would not adhere at an emergency, even to a natural ally, without extorting a bribe. Thus, by a strange fatality, the very overtures made by the Elector of *Hanover*, to obtain the co-operation of *Prussia*, gave new weight and importance to that Power. They became the hinge on which the final possession of *Hanover* turned; and through those very negotiations, *Prussia* was enabled to obtain from *France* a cession in perpetuity of the dominions of that very Power, with whom he was negotiating at the moment. It was not the wish of *Buonaparte* to yield up *Hanover*; but it became necessary to purchase the submission and servility of *Prussia* at any price. Thus, we shall see the whole power of *Prussia* take the field with *France*; perhaps, to revolutionize the *Austrian* and *Russian* parts of *Poland*—perhaps, to dismember *Turkey*—perhaps, to over-run the North of *Europe*. It is not easy to calculate the extent of plans which may occur to the vast and adventurous genius of that extraordinary man; or to decide what is

not practicable to the resources and energy of his talent.*

To come home more particularly to the dilemma in which the present Ministry are placed:—Whether they pursue the war, which they have inherited with their places, or endeavour to conclude peace, the difficulties and dangers which surround them are equally great. It may be said, that while *England* continues the war, placed, as she is, in the triumphant situation of Empress of the OCEAN, and possessing almost exclusively the commerce of the world, war will bring with it adequate resources, and the sea will pour into our laps, with interest, those treasures which we disburse, or rather only lend, for the maintenance of our fleets and armies. The glorious victory of Trafalgar, and the subsequent destruction of a *French* Squadron in the *West-Indies*, have baffled all the hopes, so fondly cherished by the despot of *France*, of being great at sea, and fully established the maritime supremacy of *Britain*; so that we may now, with confidence, laugh at the impotent rage of an enemy, who is only formidable by land, and has no means of inflicting any dangerous wound on the inaccessible body of the *British* power and prosperity. I love to hear this language:—it is worthy of the descendants of those, who fought at *Cressy* and *Poitiers*—it is worthy of the countrymen of the heroic *Nelson*. But, let us beware, lest a becoming spirit, and generous confidence in our own courage and resources, should degenerate into a foolish and false security.† The consequence of our victories must be to fill our active and indefatigable enemy with indignation and envy. He is not to be discouraged by difficulties, or humbled and dismayed from his purpose by defeat.—All the energies and resources of a mind, active, fertile in stratagem, daring in enterprize, and able in execution, will be called forth. He has made the flinty couch of war his thrice driven bed of down.—He has, at his devotion, a race of Captains familiar with victory

* *Austria* will not renew the contest with *France*; if she must make an option, she will join, or rather follow her in hostilities with *Russia*.

† See Pamphlet on the State of the Nation for the opinions of ministry, or a part of them, on this subject.

victory—who have attained, from the meanest ranks in life, to the highest military eminence, and some of them to independent power and sovereignty, by his bounty, and by their bravery and personal merit—and who possesses a complete mastery in the art of human destruction, dignified as it is by the name of military skill.—He has innumerable bands of veteran troops, nursed in dangers, familiar with scenes of blood, inured to hardships and privations, patient of discipline, and confident of victory.—He has a population of between thirty and forty millions to recruit their ranks, should they be thinned by the sword or disease—chief of all, he has within his single bosom, without fear of disclosure of his counsels, or resistance to his will, the absolute disposal of the exertions and destinies of all these men.—He can combine and direct their movements with geometrical precision, as if his numerous armies were but the parts of a machine in the hands of a mechanic.* We cannot calculate, from past historical events, what such means, in the hands of such a man, may be able to perform.

The threat of invasion has been regarded by many as an idle menace of what it would be disastrous to *Buonaparte* even to attempt, but impossible to execute. We are more and more disposed to consider as visionary the fears of an enterprize, which has been so long and so pompously announced, and so long suspended.—Yet I, even I, from my obscure retreat, have, by accident, been led to converse with military men, both in the land and sea service; and I know some among them, who are well acquainted with their profession, are disposed to think the invasion of *England*, from the coast of *France*, by no means impracticable. But, for the present, let us suppose that *Buonaparte* will not hazard the attempt; and proceed to consider what other means he may possess, of annoying *England*, and bringing the war to a favourable conclusion.*

Buonaparte is very sensible that the manufactures and commerce of *Britain* are the great support of her naval superiority. It is through the medium of her commerce and

* He did so in the last campaign with *Austria*.

and manufactures that he will seek to wound her. We have seen that such is the plan of that artful and deep politician, by his solicitude to exclude *British* manufactures and merchandize from every port and district where his influence extends. The more he extends his conquests, the greater facilities will he find for the execution of this plan. It is a singular, but a well known fact, that immediately after the victory of *Austerlitz*, and in consequence of it, cottons fell thirty per cent. in the *Liverpool* market. The exportation of *British fabrics* to *Germany* is already languid, and in all probability will totally cease immediately. One of the first military operations of *Buonaparte* in the ensuing summer, may be the occupation of *Portugal* by a *Spanish* or *French* army, or both conjoined.* *Buonaparte* will not be retarded in the prosecution of what he conceives to be his interest, by any deference to the law of nations, or respect for neutral territory. His veteran legions will experience either a feeble or no resistance.—The seizure of the *Portuguese* marine—the confiscation of *British* property—the exclusion of *British* ships and merchandize from the harbours of *Portugal*, will follow. By the conquest of *Naples*, the *French* Emperor is in complete and undisturbed possession of *Italy*. The same may be said of *Spain*, though it is as yet allowed to retain a nominal Sovereign.—When to these, with *Holland*, *Swisserland*, and a considerable part of *Germany*, he shall have added *Portugal*—the region from whence our waste of specie is chiefly supplied; see how much the field of our commercial activity will be narrowed—how many sources of our wealth will be dried up!—But *Buonaparte* will not rest here.—He is now in possession of *Venice* and *Venetian Dalmatia*. It is avowed, in the *Moniteur*, that the acquisition of *Venetian Dalmatia* was desired, with the view of bringing the *French* Empire more in contact with that of the *Turks*; that is to say, of enabling the former power to overawe the latter; and thereby, to traverse the designs, and destroy the

* The public prints and private letters from *Portugal* now represent this event as inevitable.

the influence of *Russia*. It is openly said, that either the *Turkish* armies will unite with those of *France*, and reassert their antient reputation—or that the *Turkish* Empire will be overthrown. In other words, the *Turks* must receive the *French* as domineering friends, and become a dependent State, or submit to them as conquerors. It is of little moment to *England*, after which form the subjugation of the *Ottomans* shall take place. When *Turkey* shall become dependent on *France*, her numerous ports will be closed against us, and *British* manufactures will be excluded. *Buonaparte* may then revive his favourite project of possessing *Egypt*—it may be ceded to him by the feeble counsels of the *Divan*, under a small tribute, or yielded in full sovereignty, as the price and ransom of what *French* moderation may be disposed to leave still in the possession of *Turkish* imbecility.

There are other projects which *Buonaparte* may execute—such as occupying *Hamburgh* with the concurrence of *Denmark*—or the giving it to *Prussia*, with *Lubeck* and *Bremen*. Occupation of this city, by the *French* or their allies, would alone materially injure the trade of *England*, by depriving her of a principal organ of communication with the Continent. But as *Prussia*, acting under the influence of *Buonaparte*, has already excluded *British* merchandizes from the principal rivers, by which they were accustomed, to reach the *German* market:—perhaps also this measure may be followed up, by that of seizing and confiscating *British* property to a large amount, and by preventing the correspondents and factors of the *British* merchants from sending remittances to make good their engagements with their principals.

It may not be amiss to notice the clouds which are rising on the other side of the *Atlantic* sea. The intrigues of *France* have been employed, without ceasing, from the very beginning of the Revolution, to form a *French* party in *America*, and derive assistance from that quarter. If gratitude were to have any influence in the counsels of the United States, they would have been disposed, from the beginning of the contest which succeeded the *French* Revolution, to have gone great lengths in favour of an ally, to whom they owed their existence as a free State.

State. But, gratitude had no place.—Self-interest was the only guide of the *Americans*.—They saw they could pursue their commercial speculations to greater advantage by cultivating the friendship of *England*—they even were disposed to shew a predilection towards her, as being all-powerful at sea.—And this disposition would have continued during the war, had not a change in circumstances taken place, operating to the irritation of the feelings of *Americans*, as men and citizens under a free Government. There is no point on which the *Americans* are so sore, as in their pecuniary concerns. They seem to be in earnest and decided hostility to *England*. The indications of this disposition are by no means equivocal or feeble.—*American* subjects have sold out the property which they had invested in *English Funds*. They have called for the fortification of their sea-ports to protect them from hostile descents; and, above all, they have entertained an Act of Congress, which has not passed into a law; but the entertaining of which, even for a moment, shews a hostile mind.* On both grounds of complaint, I can say, the *Americans* have reason on their side; though that reason may be intermixed with the spirit of party. There has, of late, been some difficulty in finding sailors sufficient to man our Navy. It is well known, that great numbers of *Americans* are serving in it.—Some of them may enter voluntarily; but it is agreed, on all hands, that the greatest part serve by compulsion. Confident in their own strength, our sailors are too apt to consider strength as the measure of right, and to encroach on those who are unable to resist them. Even in *England* abuses have been committed, often to a great extent, in the impress service; it is therefore very probable that the practice has been carried to a great excess, without any regard to the rights of free *Americans*, particularly in the *WEST-INDIES*, where the crews of the *British* ships of war were often thinned by disease. It is admitted, indeed, by our writers in the public

* Since this pamphlet was written, important debates have taken place in the *American* legislature, and resolutions passed prohibiting the importation of a variety of *British* manufactures.

public prints, that great numbers of *Americans* have been pressed; but they add, in excuse, that numbers of *English* seamen are serving on board *American* merchant ships; that it is not easy to distinguish an *American* from a *British* subject; and that, in fact, many of the sailors, who have been prest from on board *American* ships, were *British* subjects. If *English*, *Scotch*, or *Irish* sailors exercise their free will, and chuse to serve on board *American* merchant ships, this does not seem to furnish any argument for an invasion of the rights of free *American* subjects. In the *English* Navy there are probably great numbers of the subjects of all nations serving voluntarily. The prospect of prize money at the beginning of a war, will induce many to enter. But the wages now given on board merchant ships are so high, that on this account alone, independent of other circumstances, it is natural that mariners should prefer the trading service; and it is not improbable, that mariners, the subjects of *Britain*, may prefer the *American* service, not only on account of higher wages, but to avoid the liability to being prest. It is not wise to introduce nice and subtle metaphysical discussions between nations—they are apt to produce a war of Manifestoes, which too frequently degenerates into hostility of another kind. The question, whether a *British* mariner, not a deserter, may be taken forcibly from on board an *American* ship, where he has been hired bona fide, seems to be a nice question, to say the best of it. The argument is stronger against the seizure of labourers, artizans, farmers, and tradesmen, who exercise their right of free will, and emigrating, in quest of better fortune, are found only as passengers on board *American* vessels. The emigration of our people may be severely felt, but very different remedies from this must be applied. A yet stronger case is, where persons, formerly subjects of *Britain*, who have emigrated long ago and obtained settlements and establishments in *America*, are forcibly taken from on board *American* ships. The adjustment of points like these will be attended with some difficulties—slight, however, in comparison with those which arise from the capture of *American* vessels.

The rising commerce of *America* is a great source of her present greatness and future prosperity ; it will not be relinquished by her, however it may be viewed with envy by *Britain*. *Englishmen* are too apt to think that wealth is all-prevailing, and that a great degree of commercial prosperity is a sure pledge of national strength—wherever they can succeed in destroying the commerce of a country, they have half conquered it, by cutting off its resources. They have applied this reasoning to *France*, and expected her to fall under the destruction of her commerce, and the failure of her credit, without adverting to the other means, and the other energies of *France*. When it was seen, that reasonings and speculations of this kind were delusive, a cry arose against the carrying trade, exercised by the neutral powers, who, as the advocates of war said strengthened the hands of the enemy, by enabling them to trade under the cover of neutrality at a small expense, and bringing home the produce of the hostile colonies to the parent countries, to disperse them through *Europe*, and even to undersell the subjects of *Britain* in the foreign market. The Press has of late been much employed to inflame the public mind. The present war, in which we are now engaged, may very justly be called the war of newspapers. The seizure of neutral ships was pointed out by the public prints ; it was loudly called for by those who are violent for war. The measure was adopted to a great extent, and executed with great severity ; and has been defended, with great earnestness, in a Pamphlet, which is supposed to proceed from high authority, and to be, in fact, a sort of Manifesto on the part of Government—entitled, “WAR in DISGUISE,” in which the seizure of neutral ships is strongly inculcated, the advantages which the hostile powers derive from the abuse, as it is there called, of the neutral flag, strongly painted, perhaps exaggerated ; and it is stated, that even open war with the powers in question would be preferable to the present state of things. These principles have been enforced in other publications, and acted upon by the Government. The principal arguments in these tracts may be reduced to what has been called the Tyrant’s Plea—of necessity—
that

that in order to bring the war to an honourable end, it is necessary to cut off the resources of the enemy, by annihilating their commerce; and that, in order to accomplish this, it is necessary to stop the carrying trade of the neutrals, by seizing their ships. The arguments in favour of this conduct, are considered in detail, and seem to be ably answered, by the *American Minister in England*, Mr. MONRO, in his Remonstrance on the subject.* He says—

“ I am sorry to add, that the longer I have reflected on the subject, the more confirmed I am in the objections to the measure. If we examine it in reference to the Law of Nations, it appears to me repugnant to every principle of that Law. If by the understanding, or, as it may more properly be called, the agreement of our Government, respecting the commerce in question, I consider it equally repugnant to the principles of that agreement.” Towards the conclusion of the Remonstrance, Mr. *Monro* proceeds—“ the late condemnations, which have revived the pretensions on the part of *Great Britain*, are not only repugnant to that law (of Nations,) but to the understanding, which it was supposed had taken place between the two powers respecting the commerce in question.” “ On the topic of impressment, however, the motive is more urgent in that line—the Rights of the United States have been so long trampled under foot—the feelings of humanity in respect to the sufferers, and the honour of their Government, even in their own ports, so often outraged, that the astonished world may begin to doubt, whether the patience with which these injuries have been borne, ought to be attributed to generous or unworthy motives.—Whether the United States merit the rank to which, in other respects, they are justly entitled among independent powers: or have already, in the very morn of their political career, lost that energy, and become degenerate.” Where such a temper has been once excited, it will not be easy to restore a good understanding. The evils to be apprehended from a rupture with *America*, are very great.—The

most fatal immediate consequences will result to our trade and manufactures, by non-importation agreements; and by duties, tantamount to a prohibition, being laid on the importation of goods from the *British* dominions into the *American* States; nor will the spirit of hostility rest there.—The *American* seas will swarm with innumerable privateers and other cruisers.—The ships of war of the enemy will be received as friends in all the *American* harbours, and find every facility for provisions, and repairs, until our trade to the New World shall be annihilated. To close the fatal prospect—it is in the power of the *Americans*, by withholding supplies of provisions and lumber, to starve and ruin our *West-Indian* islands; and finally, a war with *America* will draw with it the total loss of these invaluable colonies.

How are the differences to be adjusted? It is a grievous thing to national pride, to be forced to retract haughty claims, and to sneak out of difficulties into which the Government has proudly strutted! But, supposing concession and conciliation to be the order of the day, how shall the measure of concession be adjusted, without compromising the rights and honour of the Nation, and leaving a plausible open to an active, artful, and exasperated opposition, who will not fail to improve on every circumstance of advantage afforded them?—Shall the claim of impressing men from on board *American* ships be relinquished altogether?—What an encouragement and protection will then be afforded to the desertion of our sailors!—How is the point of seizure of ships and cargoes to be adjusted? If we concede, retribution must follow—officers and seamen of our Navy, are to be deprived of the fruits of their activity and vigilance?—Are they to refund the amount of their captures?—that is impossible. The Nation, then, will be bound, in case of an amicable settlement, to make compensation to the *American* and other merchants and ship-owners, and ship-captains, at an enormous expense.—Such are the difficulties in which this question is involved.

The perilous state of *Indian* affairs is another source of great embarrassment to the Ministry—particularly it will be so, should they be actuated by any spirit of compromising

promising with abuse and criminality, and temporising with their feelings. I am convinced that every impartial and unprejudiced observer, who is not a Statesman, expected to see great demonstrations of energetic feeling and vigorous acting, on this subject. All the former language of the patriotic men, who compose the present Cabinet, seemed to warrant the expectation, that when they came to be invested with power, they would listen to the groans of suffering humanity—they would attend to the cries of millions, and endeavour to rescue the *British character* from reproach, by some powerful exertion to stem the torrent of frightful tyranny and malversation.* No time is to be lost, when millions are suffering calamities past the power of language to describe.—Disorders, which menace our existence in *India*, require instant remedy. Has the present Ministry less regard to *India*, or less power than the past? The past sent out Marquis Cornwallis for this salutary purpose of justice and conciliation. The measure was judicious—the person, considering the time of life of the noble Marquis, ill chosen. Why has not Mr. Francis been selected for the mission? It was supposed, that the person whose wild profusion and unprincipled ambition had involved the *India Company*, in direct opposition to their wishes and remonstrances, in their late difficulties and disasters; and staked the existence of the *British power* in *India* on the cast of a single die—the person who had united the luxurious pride, and cumbrous pomp, of an *Astetic* despot, with the ferocious thirst of blood, and the impious disregard of justice, solemn Treaties, and the rights of independent Sovereigns; would have been subjected, on his return, to some public enquiry—some scrutiny of his conduct. This seemed to be a sacrifice due

* It appears, from the opening of the Budget, that a Million sterling has already been advanced out of the amount of the Taxes to the *East-India Company*. It is surmised too that Government will contract, on its own faith, for a Loan, for the use of the *East-India Company*.

That this Company owes the Nation six millions, is a fact that cannot be denied—and shall there be no enquiry?—Are not the Public entitled to call on those, who were leaders of Opposition, for an enquiry?

due to the interest, as well as to the honour of the Nation. The past language of the present Ministry, and of the writers who are supposed to be devoted to their party, taught us to expect such conduct from them. Shall the person to whom the greatest crimes are imputed, and who is pointed out as the cause of the most dreadful disasters, the person against whom all the blood which has been shed in *India* cries aloud to Heaven, be screened from all enquiries, and find not only impunity, but praise, because he belongs to a party, or part of a party, which was lately an opposition? The person to whom I allude seemed to have supposed a prosecution inevitable, when he inundated the press with his voluminous manifestos. It grieves every person, who, like me, venerated the character of the good and illustrious statesman, who is the honour and the bulwark, *Decus & Column* of the Ministry; to see him reduced by circumstances and connexions to adopt the language of the poet, *vides meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*. I should be sorry to see that great and good man so hurried away in the trammels of party, so seduced by the love of place, or governed by men of inferior talents and purity to his own, that he should lend his name to measures, or institutions, of which he disapproves—that he should be betrayed into any inconsistency of words and actions, or hold a language, as Minister, diametrically opposite to that which he held, as a member of opposition. Mr. *Fox* has explicitly condemned the present system of regulations for *Indian* affairs; yet, in the same breath, he takes care to tell us that the evil is irremediable—that it is now necessary to maintain the same course, and persevere in the system, which he thus reprobates. I dare say, it is very true, that such a fatal necessity does exist. We should not, however, have had a confession of the necessity, or condemnation of the system, but from candour and magnanimity like those of Mr. *Fox*. If the fact is so, it shews what difficulties and embarrassments must arise to the present Ministry on the subject of *Indian* affairs, if they are doomed to persevere in a system of mal-administration, and to perpetuate abuses so palpable and so pernicious. The financial difficulties

difficulties of the *India* Company are such as to threaten
 embarrassments to the finances of *Britain*; and the ex-
 tent of conquests which have been made in *Asia*, and the
 extent of enmity which has been excited, are such, joined
 to some symptoms of disaffection which have lately
 appeared among the native troops, as seems to call for
 much larger supplies of men than can well be spared
 from the parent country at the present crisis. Doubt-
 less, the difficulties which press Administration from the
 side of *India*, are great and formidable. There is an ap-
 pearance of procrastination, something like a want of
 power and energy—something like irresolution, about the
 present Ministry, at the moment when the urgent dis-
 tresses and imminent dangers in *India* call for the most
 prompt and decisive measures, which speaks their diffi-
 culties more strong than any force of language. Lord
Cornwallis, it seems, was sent to undo the acts of his pre-
 decessor—to concede territory, rescind oppressive Trea-
 ties, and make pecuniary retribution: but can he restore
 the dead?—what thousands have perished?—and shall the
 person, who may be justly deemed their murderer, es-
 cape unpunished, nay uncensured, except by the impar-
 tial voice of the public, or the page of history? Unfor-
 tunate is the Ministry, to whose lot it falls to commence
 their career, with reconciling inconsistencies; and—
 I could say much more on this subject; but my warmth
 might betray me too far—and I have the terrors of the
 law before my eyes. I am sorry to see a temporising spi-
 rit—a disposition to revive the old doctrine of implicit
 confidence, of which we used to hear so much from for-
 mer Administrations, and can find so little, in the *Eng-
 lish* Constitution. I am sorry to find a great and upright
 statesman parleying with inquiry, endeavouring to damp
 the spirit of investigation, which he cannot refuse, be-
 cause he knows he called for it formerly, and ought to
 court it now. I am sorry to see procrastination the or-
 der of the day, in the midst of danger; to be told by
 one—“wait, our plans are not yet ripe—the summer
 must come to ripen them—the autumn must come—and
 then we gather the fruit. What fruit? An inquiry is
 proposed—papers on the subject of *India* are called for
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—the information required shall not be withheld—our sentiments on the subject of Indian affairs are unchanged but you are rather unreasonable—you take an inconvenient time—wait, wait, you shall hear every thing you want to know on this subject in due season, when we come to open the *East Indian* Budget—you trouble us—at present we are busy, very busy, in distributing places and preferments, to reward the zeal, or feed the hunger of our adherents!—why should you be less kind, and more importunate to us, than you were to the last Ministry.”

It is easy to answer that appeal to our feelings.—In the first place, the dangers that menace us in *India* are hourly encreasing with a frightful rapidity; they are not to-day what they were yesterday, and to-morrow, perhaps, they may be so magnified, that no power of wisdom or integrity may be able to meet them, therefore there is much more urgent reason for inquiry now, than existed in the time of the late Ministry. But supposing the necessity for an inquiry only equal—there is more reason for calling for it now, because there is a greater prospect of its being obtained and pursued with effect. Nothing good, in the opinion of many, could be expected from the last Ministry. Every good, in the opinion of most, is to be expected from the present. A call for papers, a demand for inquiries, could only be addressed to the last Ministry as a measure of opposition in the sure and certain expectation of their being refused, and producing some consequent ground of censure and complaint. A call for papers, a demand of inquiry, might be addressed on totally different grounds to the present Ministry, on a fair and rational expectation of obtaining from their candour and manly openness, information on a subject where its communication could be productive of no injury, and where its suppression could only tend to perpetuate and screen abuses. I am sorry to hear any of the present Ministry, the Ministry of the people, the Ministry which unites so much talent and integrity, stooping to compare themselves with those whom they have displaced, and whose corruption

ruption or imbecility have been so long the theme of animadversion.—This is, indeed, an act of great humility.*

It certainly must make the friends of justice and humanity, who had expected that one of the very first acts of the present administration, would have been the looking with eagle's eyes into the abuses which have prevailed in the East; to see that steady and incorruptible patriot, that single and insulated champion of violated humanity, Mr. *Francis*, thrown aside. What will be the inference?—I fear it will be supposed that his sturdy in-

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tegrity

* He (Mr. *Fox*) however, did not mean to say that any alteration ought to take place in the system of *India* government, as now by law established. He had occasion to state, at a former time, that there was a wide difference between disapproving of measures at their commencement, and afterwards rescinding them when they had been some time in practice. This he had said with regard to the *Union with Ireland*. He had strongly disapproved of that measure when it was proposed, because he was then convinced it was a bad one, and was still convinced it would have been much better for the country if it had never taken place. He had also disapproved of the plan for the government of *India*, but what he had said with respect to the *Union with Ireland*, he now said respecting this plan of Indian government. It was, in his opinion, a bad one from the beginning, but as it had been adopted, and acted upon, it was not now to be lightly rescinded. In ninety-nine cases of this nature out of an hundred, it was better to put up with many inconveniencies arising from the first adoption of a measure, than hazard worse evils by premature and ill considered alterations and innovations.

It is well observed by a periodical writer :—because a measure like the *Union* cannot be undone without producing effects of almost a revolutionary cast,—is this a reason why a change, yea, a complete change should not take place, as to the mode of governing and conducting our colonies, in the *East Indies*, especially when we are now convinced, when the proof is before Parliament itself, that the present mode is subversive of all the ends, for which colonies ought to be held.

Mr. *Prinsep* brought before the House of Commons a most important fact, long overlooked, viz. that while this country is at the expense of conquering and defending *India*, nay, while the national finances may probably be burthened with the Company's debts, a part of the commerce of *British-India*, exceeding that of the Company, is carried on by neutrals, either by treaty or commerce, while *British* capital and *British* subjects are excluded from the advantage of the trade, which it is notorious the Company cannot carry on. This question requires nothing more than attention on the part of the public to make the proper impression. Some interesting observations on the *American* commerce connected with this subject occurred in the debate. It will be worth while to compare the value of what some would quarrel about in regard to the commerce of neutrals, and what our folly gives away gratis.

tegrity and inconvenient love of truth were not calculated for the meridian of the present sunshine, that his direct and honest views, and unbending spirit, incapable of saying one thing out of power, another when in place, made him unfit for office, where some sacrifice of principle, some little compromise with guilt, were requisite.* It is much to be deplored, that it was necessary to exclude from the situation, where he might have rendered such eminent service, the man, who was pointed out by Mr. *Burke*, as the person who best understood *India* affairs, and had taught him most of what he knew.

The late speeches of Mr. *Francis* evidently shew an indignant mind, conscious of the strange and unmerited neglect he has experienced, and sensible of the causes of it, well knowing to whom, and what, he is sacrificed, and

* We are sorry to find a great statesman, formerly so distinguished for candour and manly openness, adopting, with office, the evasive and equivocating stile of a late great man. In the debates which lately occurred on Mr. *Paull's* motion, "He thought himself called upon to notice what had fallen from the noble Baronet. If the noble Baronet meant that he had come into office without any improper desire to serve either one or other party—he was correct. If he were called on to state, taking the system pursued by the two noble Marquisses as general principles, which of the two he liked best, he should say the latter, as being most agreeable to the principles laid down by the house, and most to the credit of the India Company. If again he were asked as to his opinion of the delinquency of the Marquis of *Wellesley*, he should say he had none, he had not yet formed it; and if he had, this was not the time to declare it.—As to an idea thrown out by an honourable member, that such charges were better carried on by Ministers, that, for one, he disclaimed. He thought such questions were best discussed when no weight was lent to the accusation, except what it derived from the individual who preferred it, and from the cause."—On this language, which seems to have fallen from the illustrious Speaker in a moment of incaution and forgetfulness, I beg to make two observations—first, that after all that has been heard and known respecting the conduct of the first noble Marquis, in *India*, and the consequences which have confessedly resulted from his conduct, it is most strange that he should not yet have formed an idea on this subject! I fear the idea is to be formed on something else, than the evidence of facts.—Next, it is new doctrine to say, that accusations ought not to be brought forward against great criminals by his Majesty's Ministers. It has been generally thought that they are the very properest persons, because the weight and influence of rich and noble offenders may overbear and intimidate the private prosecutor.

and finding with vain regret, that he must at length despair of the Republic.

But leave we the Ministry to pacify the country powers if they can, by concessions, which being made in a moment of distress, may inspire the enemy's confidence, where they cannot produce conciliation.—Leave we them to provide men for the vast extent of *Indian* territory, and to lay the thirty-six millions of debt, now due from the *India* Company, on the nation at large, and to provide for the payment of the interest at ten or twelve per cent, and cast our eyes on another scene of difficulties—the *West-Indies*. Fears of invasion from the enemy; discontent and faction of the Colonists; scarcity of provisions; general bankruptcy; insurrection of the slaves; disease and death seem to be the order of the day in those ill-fated Colonies. I shall not go at large into the details of the sufferings, hardships and pecuniary distresses of the *West-Indian* planters and proprietors. That subject has been treated with great ability by *Cobbet* in his *Weekly Register*. How will the present Ministry adjust the difficulties that present themselves on this side? How compose the heats between peremptory Governors and refractory assemblies? Will they recall, or enforce the orders, respecting the importation of provisions and other necessaries in *American* vessels? Above all, how will the present Ministry conduct themselves on the important and dreadful question of the SLAVE TRADE? The system of slavery in the Colonies totters to its foundations. The white inhabitants seem to be walking in their sleep, with a burning volcano heaving at their feet, the leaders of the present ministry have pledged themselves decidedly on the subject.—Will they think their pledge worth redeeming?—Mr. *Wilberforce* will surely bring forward his annual motion, to relieve the wretched negroes—inconsistency may be the order of the day.—He may be solicited to be inconsistent—to temporise—to procrastinate—but he will not be inconsistent: his evangelical piety will revolt against an abandon-

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• See Proceedings in *Barbadoes*.

donment of his suffering brethren. The subject admits of no procrastination—it has been fully debated in, and out of Parliament, and the proofs and arguments are all before the public. It is now a question, not of reasoning, but of polling. How will the Ministry act, I say?—will they boldly recant their former opinions?—will they entrench themselves in circumstances, and, pleading hurry of business, confess the principle and deny the time?—will they be found, like their predecessor Mr. *Pitt*, in a minority, lamenting that they are unable to carry a favourite measure?—or shall the Bill, as before, pass the Commons, and be lost in the House of Lords? We might be prepared for such results, but not to expect them from such men!

Proceed we now to another great question, which hangs over the heads of the present Ministry—a question on which they (if I mistake not) are divided among themselves, and on which the Nation at large is divided—a question, fraught with the most thorny discussions in the detail, and which, whether they adopt a peace (disadvantageous it must be) or continue war, comes big with danger to the continuance of Ministry. The difficulties and the clamours that have arisen about so simple a thing, in comparison, as a cartel for exchange of prisoners, may teach us what embarrassments will attend a negotiation for peace. It is highly probable, that *Napoleon* will offer to negotiate, if it were only to embarrass Ministry, and to cast on them the odium of continuing the war. The situation of *France* and *England* have changed. *Buonaparte* is much more powerful—he has added *Italy* in full sovereignty to his empire—he prepares for the conquest of *Sicily*, and meditates the final annexation of *Holland*, in the form of a federative kingdom to the *French* empire.—He has completely riveted his yoke on the neck of *Germany*.—*Prussia* and *Austria* are wholly at his mercy.—He has an irresistible army, flushed with conquest, ready at their doors, in such positions, that it can enter the heart of their dominions by a march of a few days.

In this commanding insulting attitude, surrounded by feudatory Kings, and prepared to augment their number by the addition of his relations, his creatures and satellites—he offers to negotiate with *England*.—He proposes the terms of the Treaty of *Amiens*, as the *basis* of the new pacification!—Is this proposal made insidiously, or in sincerity?—Is it thrown forward as the apple of discord, to embroil the new friends and allies, who have coalesced so strangely in office? The *French* cabinet cannot be ignorant how widely the different branches of the present Ministry differed, on the subject of peace. In truth, it is a subject, on which the best and wisest men might well differ. Peace, under the present circumstances, would bring with it all the expense of a war establishment, for it would be a peace of jealousy—a slumbering war.—It will bring with it the revival and rivalry of *French* commerce, and all the facilities requisite for recruiting the Navy of *France*, so as to become formidable to *Britain*. In short, the advocates for war have ever said, and continue to say, that peace with *France*, in her present circumstances, must be the destruction of *England*. On the other hand, the prospect of calamity, from a continuance of the war, is dreadful. It is sufficient to hint the possibility of *England* being invaded, and becoming the theatre of warfare—of *Ireland* being in a state of general commotion, which would be the certain consequence: for, if *England* shall be invaded, there is no doubt but the discontented party, which is very numerous in *Ireland*, will avail themselves of that tempting opportunity—they will be encouraged in this design by *French* emissaries; and, if it be practicable to land them, aided by French troops, thrown in, to create a diversion, and distract the attention of *England*.

But let us turn from this prospect; and suppose peace made, on terms better than the present circumstances might lead us to expect. Suppose, that *Buonaparte* will suppress his hatred against *England*, and shewing, in his conduct, the spirit of equity and moderation, and the love of peace; which appear in his professions—will spare the feelings of the Nation, and exact no painful sacrifice

sacrifice—no ignominious concession as the price of tranquillity. We will suppose all difficulties and embarrassments of this kind surmounted. Peace will bring with it new difficulties, arising from the state of peace itself. Independent of the natural consequences of disbanding large bodies of soldiers and sailors, and turning them loose on the public, the people well remember all that has been said and written on the subject of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—they will expect from those men now in power, who formerly, with so much warmth, professed themselves friends to the measure—nay more—convinced of the absolute necessity for its adoption, that they should seriously consider the subject, and fairly, honestly and strenuously labour to purify the representative system, and restore the true principles of the *British Constitution*. We have had the topic in some degree revived, by the introduction of Mr. *Tierney's* Treating Bill. And although it would be unreasonable to press Ministers, in the newness of their power, and under the urgency of multifarious business, for a plan of Parliamentary Reform; should a period of tranquillity and leisure arrive, the public will have a right to remind a patriotic Ministry of their promises—they cannot plead forgetfulness on this subject—their declarations have been so often repeated, and are so fully recorded, that every man in the community recollects them. You, Sir, would not be cold or careless on such an occasion. Many of your countrymen, who, even in the deplorable circumstances of the country, and degraded state of the representation, have hearts to feel the charms of freedom, and memory to recollect the words of those who have been the friends of freedom—know, that in those happy, but brief days of the Volunteers, when *Ireland* had existence, and *Irishmen* a name, you were among the most ardent friends of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. So far did you carry your virtuous zeal for the purity of suffrage, that in the memorable Volunteer Convention, you supported the mode of voting by ballot; and, though you were joined only by a small number,

ber, divided the assembly on the question.* Whatever difficulties may attend the discussion, one part of Ministry must bring it forward, or forfeit their characters. Mr. Fox, no doubt, has shewn great *complaisance* to some of his new allies; and sacrificed some favourite opinions, some influence, and even perhaps some reputation, at the altar of ministerial concord. This point, if I mistake not, he cannot sacrifice. It has been the favourite theme of declamation at the Whig Club these many years. The speeches at these meetings, of the leaders of opposition, were regularly published in the daily prints; that they might circulate through the Nation, and influence the general mind. The tavern walls resounded, and the sounds were re-echoed from the Press, with the *Majesty of the People*, the corruption of Parliament, the renovation of the *British Constitution*, and the necessity for a radical Reform. Can the gentlemen who thus spoke, and thus published, undo what has been done?—can they annihilate all the opposition newspapers which have appeared during many preceding years, and steep the minds of those who have read them in Lethe?—can they

- “ Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
- “ And, with some sweet oblivious antidote,
- “ Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of the perilous stuff,
- “ Which weighs upon the heart?”

The public, who have been so long the pupils of these gentlemen, would be indignant to find them renouncing all their opinions, and retracting all their professions. Too many Palinodes have been sung already; nor will the people hear, without a mixture of contempt and resentment, notwithstanding they may have heard something like it before—a Minister making an eloquent harangue in favour of the measure, and voting for it in a minority.

* At that time, I recollect attending the debates of the Convention. Sir John Newport, in aid of his theory, produced a model of an *election machine*. It was designed to obviate some of the danger of undue influence, and had a screen which was intended to conceal the Elector, in the act of voting, from the Candidates.

minority. The present opposition part of Ministry were too lately in opposition to adopt this farcical subterfuge, without exciting general murmurs. Suppose, on the other hand, that the opposition part of Ministry are honestly and warmly amicable in the *Reform of Parliament*, and disposed to exert their influence for its attainment: will the rest of the Ministry concur in their sentiments, or co-operate with them in the measure?—will Lord *Grenville* shew a deference for the opinions of Mr. *Fox*, equal to that which Mr. *Fox* has, on some late occasions, shewn for his?—shall we see, in one part, of the Cabinet, the progressive dominion of invigorated and growing authority; in the other, the approaching paralysis of effete opposition?

I come now to the Taxes for the year. It might, perhaps, be enough to say on this subject, that the *budget*, as it is vulgarly called, and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer's* introductory statement, are very much praised by the malignant and insidious writers in that notorious print, the *Courier*.—*Timeo danaos & Dona ferentes*. Lest any doubt should remain on the mind of the reader, as to the true meaning and tendency of this new liberality, and these large commendations from a foe, the writer explains himself.—The new Taxes, as to quantity and quality, shew the propriety of Mr. *Pitt's* conduct; they are in the very spirit of Mr. *Pitt's* measures.—“The luminous statement of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the strongest panegyric on the conduct of the preceding Administration.” Is this statement true or false? how will it be received by the public? did the present Ministry turn out the past, merely to get their places, and to satisfy the craving of a set of hungry retainers and connexions? or did they mean a fair and solid change of measures? Will the present Ministry pursue those measures, which, while they were in opposition, they declared to be driving the country to perdition? How will the public view the change of persons and continuance of measures? How much has been said in Parliament?—how much has been said and written out of Parliament, by able and skilful men, to defeat the fallacies of Mr. *Pitt's* statements, and expose the
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the fatal tendency of his financial schemes. Not to speak of Mr. *Morgan* and others, a noble peer,* who now stands high in the confidence and good opinion of the present Administration, has arraigned the financial plans of Mr. *Pitt*, in a book of considerable size, and some ability. How far the doctrines of the noble Lord are right in some points, may be questioned; but it appears plainly from his arguments, that the Sinking Fund does not merit the praise lavished on it. The praises of this writer in the *Courier* shew, that the present Ministry have not been able to depart from the plans of Mr. *Pitt*, or even to improve upon his system.

Taxes are, and ever have been, a subject of popular discontent—a theme of popular declamation. It was so when Taxes were very light—they are now become very grievous. The people, sore from their burthens, will not always be disposed to consider, whether the imposition of them could be avoided or not. The collector of Taxes, in every community, (so averse are the populace from the payment of them) has ever been an odious character, from the *Roman publican*, down to the *English exciseman*. His function is, in the eyes of the public, but a degree better than that of the common executioner. The finance Minister, with his Ways and Means, is considered by the vulgar as a winged harpy, hovering over their heads, ready to pounce down upon them, and snatch away, in his claws, the yet untasted food; as the common enemy of every rank and profession in the State, who sits calculating the contents of their pockets, and devising schemes, by which those contents may be transferred to the public coffers. Such being the disposition of mankind, it is naturally to be apprehended, that the Ministry, which is under the necessity of imposing great and grievous taxes, that pervade all ranks of men, and must be accompanied with considerable inconvenience and irritation, and some oppression in the collection, must hazard a great share of their popularity. Few will be disposed, like the writer in the *Courier*, and some other Ministerial writ-

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* Lord *Lauderdale*.

ers which I have seen, to triumph in the amount of our Taxes, as if it were a pledge of our strength, and to congratulate the public on the extent of their burthens, as if it were a proof of their prosperity. This is a kind of logic; which will not convince vulgar unenlightened people; in their apprehension, the imposition of Taxes will not, of necessity, imply an ability to pay them. The hand of Government is become terribly strong in this country; and fully adequate to take from the pockets of the people the very last shilling they contain. Eight millions sterling new Taxes in one year! O happy and prosperous Nation, past example! O wonder of resource and energy, past example and belief! how must foreigners stand amazed and overawed at the taxability of the *British* Nation! How must they envy the inexhaustible power of their riches! How much must they be disposed to fall down and worship the golden image of paper credit, which *William Pitt, the King—of Finance* had set up! But soft—my friend—do not boast so loud, lest *France* should hear.—What temptation so strong to a rapacious foe?—What argument so powerful to recommend the desperate measure of invasion, as this magnificent picture of our riches? But, will the *British* farmer and manufacturer be equally charmed with this flattering picture—this triumphant prospect—this *painter's palace of pleasure*?—No—he will look around him, and see all the decencies and comforts, nay the necessities of life, hourly contracted more and more—he will see the middle ranks subsiding and disappearing, and leaving a dreadful chasm in society, with a luxurious *Aristocracy* on the one brink, and a starving populace on the other brink, of a vast abyss.—He will see that there are twelve hundred thousand paupers in the island! more than a tenth of its whole population, and will shudder at the prospect. He will see the day approaching, with rapid strides, which threatens to enroll him in that miserable, but formidable host. He will feel, that, out of his scanty means, the public burthens will absorb from ten to fifteen shillings in every twenty. It was well said by Mr. *Francis*, that he could not conceive “any country to be in a state of prosperity, which maintains

maintains its poor, not by their labour, but by a division of the property of the rich." The *Englishman*, who sometimes looks into the newspapers, and reasons a little upon what he finds in them, will be disposed to compare the situation of *England*, unrivalled in commerce, triumphant on the seas, as it appears in the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer,* with that of *France*, baffled at sea—her navies destroyed—her commerce annihilated, as it appears in the *Exposé*, or statement on the part of the *French Ministry*. On the one hand, a glorious and triumphant imposition of eight millions additional Taxes at a stroke, with a prospect of their continuing at least undiminished, perhaps being gloriously augmented, during the war. On the other—no introduction of new Taxes—nay, a diminution of those already existing promised to the people. In addition to the support of an extensive war, and the maintenance of prodigious armies—armies, which, in less than two months overwhelmed the powerful empire of *Austria*, we are presented with a catalogue of such vast works, carried on and partly completed by *France*, in the midst of an expensive and perilous war, as have seldom been accomplished by other nations, even in the most profound peace.—Vast roads, bridges, aqueducts, and canals completed—new ports and harbours constructed—new cities founded! What will be the feelings of a plain downright *Englishman*, when he compares this view of *French* poverty and bankruptcy, with the splendid picture of *British* wealth and opulence?—What will be his feelings when he reads the speech of Mr. *Jefferson*, the President of *America*, at the opening of Congress, particularly when he comes to this emphatic sentence—"It is the boast of the American farmer and labourer, that he never beholds the face of a Tax-gatherer,"* Will not the *English* farmer and labourer be apt to compare such a situation with his own?—and will the result add to the popularity of Ministry? I do not say that Ministry are to be blamed; they have found these difficulties, not created them. But their situation is not the less embarrassing; they

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* Debates, Monday, March 31.

they have the difficult task of introducing a system of taxation, very grievous in the amount of the burthens it must impose, and subject to protracted and vexatious discussions, in the adjustment of the details. This, I say, is a rock, which threatens shipwreck to the popularity of men new in office. We find them already vigorously opposed by their coadjutor and fellow-labourer, Mr. Francis—a man who deserved better of them and of the public, than the being driven to say—“that he had passed the last five and twenty years of his life in studying the interests of the *India* Company in *India*, without encouragement, and without assistance—that he had now been discharged from that care, and would, in future, employ his time in informing himself more minutely of the interests of the country.”—A sentiment, which, considering the time and manner of its introduction, seems to forebode hostility.

Concerning the Taxes I shall not say much. Probably they are as well conceived, and as little enormous, as the circumstances of the times will allow; but they speak most evidently the straits to which the Ministry are reduced. A property Tax must always be galling and painful, independent of its amount, from the vexatious disclosure of family circumstances which it exacts, and by the mode in which the collection is managed, by surcharge and over-payment in the first instance. Various objections will arise, on the part of various classes of people, which, if they are attended to, may greatly diminish the amount of the Tax, and disappoint the hopes of the financier—if they are not attended to and obviated, may sow the seeds of future discontent. It is further to be observed, in general, on the subject of a property Tax, so exceedingly heavy, as one tenth of the whole—that it is much to be feared that such a Tax may become, to its subject—“*The ivy that has hid its princely trunk, and sucked its verdure from it.*” The Tax may devour the subject of Taxation, and annihilate a proportion of the aggregate income of the country. So heavy a contribution as one tenth of the whole supposed property, coming on the sudden, and payable, at once, by small tradesmen and other persons of scanty means; these persons

persons will be annihilated at a blow—their beggary and imprisonment, or flight, will be the inevitable consequence. The next year their place will not be found. The deduction of a multitude of these small incomes, from the aggregate of income, on which the calculations and estimates were formed this year, will produce a very sensible difference. An equal amount, at least, of Taxes will be required next year, even supposing, which is not probable, peace to be concluded—well—when the Chancellor of the Exchequer comes to look at his Income Tax, he will find, that to make it keep pace with his estimate, he must rise it to twelve per cent. the next year, and, on the same principle will demand fourteen or fifteen per cent. and so on, in a rapid progression. There is another point of view, in which so heavy a Tax wears a very alarming aspect, as threatening a rapid decay, if not destruction, to the manufactures and trade of the country. So heavy a Tax on property will reduce even those, who possess considerable property, to a system of œconomy which will exclude the consumption of many superfluities, and relinquish many articles of luxury and show; this will produce a sensible diminution of the home demand for our manufactures, and the produce of our colonies. Again, the manufacturers, both employers and workmen, in consequence of this heavy Tax, will find the capital lessened, by a great proportion, as well as their income from the employment of it. The workmen will demand an encrease of wages—the employer will use cheaper, and of course, worse materials, or put a lesser quantity of the raw materials in his fabrics; either of which changes will affect their quality for the worse; and he will, most probably, at the same time, raise the price. This will, in some degree, injure our manufactures in the home, but it will co-operate fearfully, with the exertions of *Buonaparte*, to exclude them from the foreign market.

I shall not attempt to remark in detail on the Taxes. I shall only observe, that some of them shew the perplexity of the Minister, and the difficulty which he felt, of finding objects which might possibly be taxed. The Taxes on tea and sugar, if it were possible, would have been

been avoided. In the present state of difficulty and embarrassment, nearly approaching to insolvency, of the *East-India Company*, and the *West-India* merchants and proprietors, taxes so prejudicial to them were highly objectionable, though perhaps less so than other Taxes. They are laid on two of the principal objects of which their returns from the *East* and the *West-Indies* consist. These are Taxes also which bear very heavily on the poor, with whom, not through luxury, but on a principle of saving, since it is found to be a cheaper part of diet than milk, Tea is universally become a necessary article. It is further to be apprehended, that the Taxes, particularly that on Tea, may fall short of the estimated produce: partly, by diminishing the consumption, particularly among the poorer classes, who are the great consumers, with whom they will nearly amount to a prohibition, partly by the increase of smuggling, to which it will hold out additional temptation—partly, with respect to Tea, by leading to adulteration, with an admixture of indigenous plants. It is obvious, that the invention of Taxation begins to flag, when the financier is obliged to fasten on the favourite staple manufactures of the country. This is the case with respect to one of the principal *British* manufactures, hardware, the *premium* of which must be rendered dearer by the new Tax on iron. We find this Tax is likely to encounter a vigorous opposition. But let us leave these topics, which would betray me into too minute and tedious discussions, and take a rapid view of the condition of IRELAND.

Ireland now is in a most peculiar state and temper of mind. It will depend on the future conduct of the *British* Government, whether *Ireland* shall be the strength, or the weakness—the shield, or the vulnerable part of *Great Britain*.—*Ireland* droops and mourns, under the fatal measure of a *Legislative Union*—a measure deprecated by a vast majority of the Nation—a measure prepared by unworthy artifices—by division, desolation, bloodshed, and civil anarchy, and procured by palpable and open bribery and corruption—by a prostitution of offices of trust and confidence, and even, if report lie not, of the sacred

sacred administration of justice, and the revered functions of the Christian Church. Some of the terms of the *Union* were almost as soon violated as past; *—and experience has evinced, that the consequences of it have been as ruinous, as the means by which it was obtained, or rather enforced, were wicked. The most melancholy consideration of all is, that the evil seems to be wholly without remedy. The measure has been reprobated by Mr. Fox, in stronger language than I shall here repeat. But, much as he condemned the means, by which the UNION was effected, and lamented that such a measure had ever taken place, he seemed to consider it as a great constitutional arrangement—a great national change, which cannot now be recalled. We were entertained, previous to the UNION, with magnificent speculations, golden visions of the influx of wealth and commerce, into this land of jobs and promise. What a number of *English* settlers were to be invited over!—what immense capitals were to be transferred to this country!—how our ports were to be crowded with shipping!—the Island of Saints was to be an island of merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, and custom-house officers! How miserably have these expectations fallen off! What is the situation of the country? A sensible and able political writer, *Cobbet*, in his Register of March the 29th, gives us a faithful and melancholy picture of the situation of the *Irish* peasantry—a situation which renders it necessary to apply, without delay, such palliatives (effectual remedies I fear are unattainable) as may sooth their minds, and alleviate their sufferings. You, Sir, must well know, being a Banker, if public and private credit have not declined—if manufactures have not fallen off since the Union. You must have been led by your official researches to know, with more certainty and exactness than other persons, how much the trade and manufactures of *Ireland* have fallen off, and are continuing to fall. You will be intimate with the nakedness of the land, and fully conscious of the misery and poverty of this country. I observe, that your predecessor, Mr. Foster,

* For instance, the Linen Manufacture taxed.

Foster, has moved for a number of returns of different articles of export from *Ireland*. He has also instituted an enquiry into the state of the linen manufacture. I presume the object of this motion is to show, by inference, that the trade and manufactures of *Ireland*, contrary to the fallacious statements, and idle expectations, encouraged at the time, have fallen off in consequence of the UNION.

Nor is it merely, in a pecuniary point of view, that the Union has injured this country. It has debased and degraded *Ireland*, without benefiting *England*.—It extinguished at once the political existence, and whatever portion of good-name the Nation possessed.—It caused her to die a political death, and, at the same time, to bequeath a legacy of debasement to her children. We are stript of all erectness of mind, all elevation of hope, all energy of character.—We feel our situation, of provincial subordination.—We cease to look to ourselves, or our own exertions for any thing.—We assume a servile apathy, and contract our views, to conform with our new character and state of existence. All our most noble and opulent families are emigrating, with a rapidity, even greater than could have been expected. How large a proportion of the best habitations in our capital, have either been sold already at half value, and converted into shops and hotels, or are now actually under the hammer! Nor is it by the great sums alone which our absentees drain from this country, that their absence is injurious. They take away with them the consequence of the country—the splendour of the court—the ornament and polish of social intercourse—the encouragement of manufactures—the example and protection which the superior orders impart to the lower, and many of the pledges of good order and tranquillity, which the presence of men of large fortunes, and extensive influence, insures to a country. The appearance of DUBLIN, short as is the period since the UNION, already exhibits the fatal consequences of that degrading measure in faded splendour. It already has assumed a dilapidated, desolate, provincial appearance. When the war shall be
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over, and contracts for provisions, and some particular branches of manufacture, for the use of the military, shall cease, the pecuniary distresses and failures in the trade and manufactures of the country will be still more urgent, and apparent and sensible to every body. We shall see the course of exchange still more unfavourable to *Ireland*. I do not speak thus to excite a spirit of discontent and vain repining; but to shew how necessary it is to touch the affairs of *Ireland* with a tender hand.

The noble Duke, who has been sent over to preside at the head of affairs in this country, I am certain, accepted this important charge with the purest motives, and most patriotic intentions. I am certain, that, from what he must have seen and observed since his arrival in this country, he will feel himself strongly confirmed in these sentiments; and his good and generous nature will be warmly excited to exertions for the interests of this unhappy country, by the various forms of suffering humanity, which will crowd on his attentions, and harrow up his feeling. He will every where meet the traces of decay, humiliation, poverty, abandonment, and degradation. The luxury of the feast, and the splendour of the midnight ball, will not hide them from his humanity and penetration.—No: they will force them more strongly on his observation. He will see every where a gloom—every where a solitude—every where a feeble forced attempt at festivity and magnificence. He will enquire where are the crowds that used to frequent the Levee and Drawing-room?—Where are the nobility and gentry of *Ireland*?—in *London*—in *London*—through a crowd of plebeian faces, shopkeepers, attornies, excisemen, with their tawdry wives and daughters, he will see but a few poor faded things—mere *Ombres Chinoises*—of what once composed a Court. He will early see that a pomp of parade and expense among subordinate people, in a deserted and desolate capital, and in the midst of a starving peasantry, unemployed manufacturers, and ruined tradesmen, will only serve to make the general misery more evident. His Grace will wisely and humanely consider, that his mission is not merely for

the purpose of spending a princely revenue in this beggared country; or of introducing a system of large expence, which may tend to blast and wither to the root the few remaining nobility and gentry who still vegetate on *Irish* ground. He well knows, that the luxury and expence of the rich are not as advantageous to the poor, as the rich would fain have it supposed, who are fond of calling their vanity and their appetites charity, and would levy a return of gratitude on the public for the indulgence of their own whims and passions. His Grace will see, that the present circumstances of the country require not examples of prodigality, but of wise retrenchment and discreet œconomy.—He will see, that a man of his noble fortune and splendid habits, can be œconomical with impunity, and without fear of any sordid imputation. Different, far different is the case, when a nobleman of new nobility, of slender means, of parsimonious temper, with, perhaps, a numerous progeny to stimulate industry and invention, in the department of Ways and Means, is dispatched to make up a fortune and a family, by a mercantile government of a province—by calculating the exchange—by drawing his salary monthly—by remitting his thousands and tens of thousands, and by snatching at reversions. The conduct of the Duke of *Bedford*, should he pursue a course of wise frugality, will be liable to no misconception, no misrepresentation.—Economy in *him* will be true magnanimity. My only fear is, that he may not have sufficient fortitude for the practice of œconomy. Would he be hailed as the true friend of *Ireland*—as the real benefactor of the poor—let him endeavour at a retrenchment of public expence—at the exclusion of jobs—the punishment and prevention of peculation—the suppression of unnecessary places and unmerited pensions—the composition of party-heats and religious animosities.—This will be true generosity.—This will be a magnificence, worthy of the heir of the illustrious house of *Russel*, and the representative of an enlightened and beneficent Sovereign.

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The plaudits, and eager demonstrations of joy, with which the Duke of *Bedford* was welcomed to this capital, must be highly grateful to his feelings. Yet, worthy as he is of every mark of respect the people can shew, these tumultuous applauses of the populace may not be the disinterested applauses of what is good and estimable in itself. We saw them bestowed, with equal profusion, by the same party, on the Marquis of *Buckingham*, then Earl *Temple*, when he first came to the government of the country. In what manner, and under what public feeling, that nobleman afterwards left this country, is known to all. His Grace, the present chief Governor, will find much matter for serious reflection, in the tumultuous assemblages, and violent and extravagant joy, which hailed his arrival. If the populace drew his carriage, and rent the air with their acclamations, there was more in all this than met the eye and ear. The penetration and prudence of the noble Duke will examine, with candour and some solicitude, what he sees and hears. He will allow that a Duke of *Bedford*, as such, has no powerful claims to popularity in IRELAND. He will recollect that his ancestor was chief Governor in this country, and left behind him no very popular name. He was supposed to have come over, for the purpose of accomplishing the hated measure of an Union, and no less joy was then testified at his departure, than has been now shewn for the arrival of his grandson. Besides, the name of *Russel*, though dear to virtue, patriotism, and the *British* Constitution, is not precisely the name which should be most popular among an *Irish* populace, composed almost entirely of *Roman Catholics*. An *Irish* populace is not altogether so stupid and ignorant as *Englishmen* may suppose; they know—the *Irish Catholics* know, that the noble house of *Russel* grew into existence by the Reformation—that it was enriched by the spoils of the Church, and rose to greatness with the Protestant Ascendancy. It has given martyrs to that cause, and been ever steady to Church and State. These are high praises, but no very encouraging considerations to an *Irish* populace, who look for an amelioration of their condition. A *Russel* was at the head of the *exclusioners*, who

considered their faith as a sufficient disqualification of the heir of the Crown,

The movements of the populace are more worthy of notice than shallow observers may suppose; the motives frequently lie deep, and are often the harbingers and indications of important consequences. Independent of personal respect to our new chief Governor, I read in the joy which was lately manifested by the people, a variety of emotions and feelings. Perhaps the most prominent feature was a sentiment of triumph in the downfall of those men, who had been their constant enemies—who had oppressed them, and betrayed the country—who had oppressed them the more, to have the better opportunity for betraying the country. They rejoiced in the downfall, complete as they supposed it, of a Ministry, which had embroiled contending sects, and spread the flames of discord through the country, with the *Machiavelian* design of facilitating the measure of an UNION. It is natural to suppose, that these poor people must have no common pleasure and triumph, at the liberation of so many unfortunate victims, for a cause to which the populace, to say no more, might not be unfavourable. They also rejoiced in their own liberation; by the restoration of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, from the terrors of arbitrary imprisonment in a dungeon, unheeded and forgotten, and all the severities of an inquisitorial policy. Is it not possible, that all these demonstrations moved from the Catholics of *Dublin*, by way of a display of their strength and numbers, and an intimation of their claims and expectations. I am convinced of their loyalty, but, considered in this point of view, all their rejoicing carried with it some little air of menace. It reminded me of the crowds that attended Earl *Fitzwilliam* at the time of his return from a short experimental government in *Ireland*. The plaudits may be only given in anticipation, by the warm sanguine temper of *Irishmen*, credulous in hope, too apt to flatter themselves with the certainty of obtaining what they fondly wish. A wise man will, therefore, consider these plaudits, not as absolutely given, but only lent, to be drawn back, with interest, should the people be disappointed of their hopes.

hopes. Why the people paid such respect to Mr. *George Ponsonby*—why they rejoiced so much at his elevation to his present situation, is obvious. They cannot appreciate his talents, though confessedly great.—They cannot predict, whether he will display a knowledge of practice, a familiarity with the principles of law and equity, and a patience and diligence in attendance, which will enable him to acquit himself in his high office, with more satisfaction to the public than his predecessors. In all this the populace take little interest. They have no Equity suits—they do not feel for the exaltation, aggrandisement, and riches of any one aristocratic family over another, as such merely. The title of *Maire—Ponsonby*—or *Beresford* would be indifferent to them.—But, the people naturally rejoice in the advancement of those, whom they consider as their friends, and the downfall of those, who have proved themselves their foes. In this light, the advancement of Mr. *Ponsonby*, who has ever professed himself a friend of the party nearest to the populace—a friend to the claims of the *Roman Catholics*, joined with the downfall of Lord *Redesdale*, who unnecessarily, and therefore imprudently, volunteered in professing himself their enemy, are equal subjects of exultation to the *Roman Catholic* party. I might go a step farther, but, I chuse to be silent.

What shall be done, in this high-wrought state of public expectation and general effervescence of the popular feeling, to satisfy, in some degree, the wants and demands of the people, and prevent their lapsing under the dominion of very different sentiments? This important and difficult question requires the most prompt yet serious consideration. It is not safe, at this particular crisis, to trifle with the people of IRELAND. They are just now in a frame of mind, most apt, either for the best or worst purposes, according to the policy which may be adopted towards them.

In the first place, as a pledge of patriotic feelings on the part of Government, as a proof and earnest of good intentions towards this country—as a demonstration of firmness and energy of character, it is necessary that a very considerable change of men should precede or accompany a
change

change of measures. It is more necessary in this country than even in *England*: because grosser corruption, more open and avowed venality and political depravity, were exhibited here. The vote of the Union was a great act of public Treason; as the sins of political criminals were more enormous, so the evils which they have produced to this unfortunate country, have been more dreadful and incurable. The dismissal, therefore, of those persons who have sold themselves, and betrayed and ruined the country, is but a decent sacrifice to public justice—a propitiatory offering to the feelings of an indignant Nation—an atonement to the manes of our departed independence. The dismissal of those who had obtained their situations as the performance of *Union promises*, or the price of Union services; of all those who had been forward in promoting, or instrumental in executing disgraceful cruelties and outrage—in extending the system of Espionage, torture, exile, conflagration and massacre; the dismissal of all such has been expected by the independent part of the *Irish* community, both high and low; and this expectation was one great cause of the transport with which a chief Governor, sent by the new Ministry, was received. Indeed, one would wonder how such a change of men could for any time be delayed.—One would wonder how a patriotic and humane Administration could coalesce, or even communicate, with any of the persons who have been deeply conversant in the scenes of barbarity which were acted in this country!—Scenes, at which humanity shrinks aghast!—Scenes, from which memory recoils! Should any evil star predominate, and induce the new Cabinet to spare many of this ill-omened party, the avowed enemies of their country—the open disclaimers of public virtue—the hardened advocates of all cruelty—the ready perpetrators of all enormity; it will fill the public with despondence and dismay. Men will not believe, that the present Ministry could be so weak and impolitic, and at the same time so unjust and ungrateful, as to unite with their irreconcilable enemies, and to neglect their friends, the persons who have preserved their attachment to
 them,

them, and to their professed principles, at all times, and under a complication of the most alarming difficulties, even at the risque of their repose, their property, their reputation and personal safety. They will not be disposed to ascribe to them conduct, so chimerical and unaccountable. They will rather question the sincerity of certain professions, and conclude that they were only calculated for the meridian of opposition; and that when two or three favourite families, and their immediate dependents, were gratified, things began to appear under a different aspect. Or they will think, that this toleration of ancient enemies and opponents, in the midst of their camp, accompanied by a disregard of their friends, proceeds from a want of union and sentiment somewhere, or a want of power and energy every where. Ministers may affect to call this course, moderation. They may cry, We will not be a vindictive Administration.—The public will not believe in this view of things—will not give them credit for these specious names. They will look beyond the exterior, and find, that such conduct deserves no other name than weakness, either of intention or means. Their friends will be alienated—their enemies will not be conciliated, but ascribe their conduct to fear.

But let us pass from this inferior consideration, important chiefly to the public for the inferences that men may draw from it, or as a criterion of the power and probable continuance of the present Ministry; to the expectations of the people, and the measures which may conciliate their best affections, and command their utmost exertions.—The most prominent, the most important, the most certain, is a complete removal of all the cruel and impolitic restraints, which at present affect the *Roman Catholic* part of the community, which make them feel themselves aliens in their own country—put them in a worse situation than a Jew or an infidel—perpetuate the spirit of religious discord, and excite, on the one hand, repinings and discontents, produce, on the other, insult, persecution and intolerant rancour, which drive our *Roman Catholic brethren* to forget the name and feelings of brethren, while they find themselves a pro-

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scribed and degraded cast in their native land. It appears very evidently, that the *Roman Catholics* have formed very sanguine expectations, from the liberality, justice, and patriotism of the exalted characters, who compose the present Administration. It is very natural that they should do so, because they found every possible encouragement in the speeches of, I may say, every individual, Lord *Sidmouth* excepted, who now compose the Administration. It is also supposed that Mr. *Grattan*, who was always their strenuous advocate, enjoys no common share of the confidence of the leaders in the present Administration, and is supposed to be consulted by them, as to all arrangements of *Irish affairs*. The industry and activity of the *Roman Catholic* body have been proportioned to the greatness of the object in view; and their expectation of obtaining it. Their meetings have been numerous, and will become general.—Their language, though decent and respectful, has been firm, energetic and impressive. The Press has daily groaned both here, and in the neighbouring country, with arguments in favour of what should, at this time, require no argument, the propriety of granting their Petition. New advocates * of no mean rank and talents, are daily taking up the pen in their favour. A spirit is gone abroad, which can only be composed by frank and liberal concession.

Let it not be imagined, that any thing personal, any gratification to individuals, either in the form of emoluments or honours, will stay the impetuosity, or obliterate the justice of those demands, in which four millions of people concur, with one voice and one mind. This was formerly the miserable policy of miserable and corrupt Administrations. It is unworthy of the patriotic professions and fair fame of the present Ministers. The world expects from them fair and honourable dealing, not petty intrigues and mean artifices. I cannot believe that such *craft*—the name of policy it does not merit, will be attempted; but, if it should, it will completely fail. The time for such expedients is past and gone

* As Sir John Throckmorton and the Hon. Mr. Bennett.

gone by for ever. The last thirty years have wrought a wonderful change in the sentiments and mode of acting of the people. They must be very inexpert politicians who do not advert to this change. Should endeavours be used, to purchase the good offices of the nominal leaders of the *Roman Catholic* body, (I will not use the unhandsome word, *bribe*) by honours and emoluments, the individuals, who might be thus singled out by a shallow cunning, will forthwith become objects of envy to some, of contempt to others, of suspicion to all. They will lose all confidence, all influence with their party; and with that confidence and influence, all power of being serviceable to Government. But why talk of leaders? in fact the *Roman Catholic* body have no leaders but their sufferings, the justice of their claims, and that mighty spirit of Union, which persecution ever generates. In times of warm discussion, when the public are drawn together to debate on their interests, and a facility of speaking, a power very different from real wisdom or talent, gives a temporary pre-eminence over his fellows to the possessor of it; obstreperous noise is mistaken for zeal; forward assuming arrogance for ability; and impudent bold pretension, and confident assertion, for weight and consequence. In the *Roman Catholic* body, as in all large combinations of people, such individuals will certainly be found, but these persons, whatever they may think or say, do not lead the body—they only swim with the current. Should Government be weak enough (which I think impossible) to hope, that by attaching to themselves some of these supposed leaders, they will be able to divide the *Catholic* body, (a policy heretofore successfully practised) they will find, that the moment these puffed-up things are touched by the golden wand of Government, they will fade into nothing, leaving not a wreck behind. I am convinced, that the *Roman Catholics* have so long considered the way before them—are actuated by such sound good sense, and so fully inspired by one common sentiment, that it is impossible to disunite them.

I shall not here enter into a discussion of the *Roman Catholic* claims: or a history of the severe code by which they are still coerced. I shall not enter into a minute examination of the nature of their present connexion with the head of the *Roman Church*. I shall take it for granted, according to the professions of all enlightend *Roman Catholics*, with whom I have conversed, and according to all the written arguments in their favour which I have perused, that this connexion, this profession of obedience to the See of *Rome*, is purely of an ecclesiastical and spiritual nature, and contains nothing inconsistent with the most perfect loyalty and duty of a good subject towards his Sovereign. Has not the experience of centuries corroborated the justice of the assertion?—Have not the *Roman Catholics* of *Ireland*, with the exception of a few districts, where the people were goaded into madness by the violence of their persecutors, been distinguished for their loyalty, and that, even in the most difficult and dangerous times? And will any person now, except such bigots as the Member for *Armagh*, and his coadjutor, the credulous and crazy annalist, contend, that any danger is to be apprehended from the temporal power, or spiritual arms of the Pope? Now, in fact, the Pope has ceased to possess any power in temporals, and retains very little in spirituals. I shall, therefore, dismiss this part of the subject, referring the reader to the very admirable and instructive speeches of Lord *Grenville* and Mr. *Fox*, two of the most able, perhaps, which were ever delivered in Parliament or any other deliberative assembly. The latter, in particular, exhibits the most profound political reasoning on historical facts—the most luminous application of historical facts to illustrate political conclusions, that can be found in any composition extant. I shall also recommend the perusal of Sir *John Throckmorton's* Pamphlet to every person, who wishes to form just notions on this subject.

Supposing the measure right in itself, and expedient at any time, can there be any good reason for delay? or can any time be so eligible as the present?—Ought not the

the Protestants, who feel any liberality of sentiment, or any regard for the peace and security of this country, to be the first to call, with one voice, for a repeal of the cruel and injudicious restraints, which at present so heavily press on their brethren of the *Catholic* persuasion?—Would there not be something manly and liberal, and at the same time, gracious and conciliatory, in such a conduct?—Would it not tend greatly to harmonize and unite all persuasions of *Christians*?—Would it not be judicious in Government, at once and unsolicited, to come forward, and grant this boon so eagerly desired? There is much good sense in the saying—*bis dat qui cito dat—He gives twice who gives quickly.* The mind becomes partially irritated by long and painful suspense, by the delay of hope, and a succession of preliminary disappointments. The edge of gratitude is blunted, by the apparent reluctance with which a boon is conceded. If the measure is ever to take place, let it take place now. Let the generous feeling of the people be excited, at the moment, when it may be necessary to call upon them for the greatest sacrifices. Before the close of the present year the people may be compelled to hazard what they hold most dear, in resisting a foreign enemy. Would it not be wise to convince the *Roman Catholic*, now an alien in his own land, before he shall be desired to shed his blood, in the defence of the country, that he really has a country to defend?

Putting out of the question dangers and fears of this kind, which knaves and fools will affect to call *visionary*; but, which wise and honest men believe to be worthy of some regard; suppose them wholly averted by the triumphs of our navy, or the conclusion of peace; yet, whether our lot is cast for peace or war, this country will be called on for most heavy contributions. Every person must hold himself prepared for large sacrifices, and severe privations. It should be the wish, as it is the interest of a humane and enlightened Ministry, to put the people, as much as in them lies, in a frame of mind and temper to bear their burthens with cheerfulness. If they come, with grinding taxes in the left hand, and conciliation and concession in the right, one gift will qualify

the other. The tongue of discontent will be dumb—the voice of repining will not be heard in our streets. Does not this time, of unexampled danger and difficulty, and unexampled taxation, call for the speedy adoption of new maxims and new conduct?—Does not this crisis call imperiously for measures, which may soothe and gratify the *Roman Catholics*? They are the great majority, more than two-thirds of the whole population; should not their condition be improved, then, in every point, where improvement remains possible? If the *Roman Catholics* are called to pay their proportion for the support of the *British* State and Government, should they not be admitted to a full participation of the *British* Constitution? If the *Roman Catholics* are to be so heavily taxed, in common with the *Protestants*, ought it to be left in their power to say, that they have not an equal stake in the country, for whose defence and government they are burthened?—Ought it to be left in their power to say, that they are not as fully and fairly represented, in that assembly, by which they are taxed? It is the maxim of the *British* Constitution—it is a principle of justice and equity, that the property of no man shall be taken from him, without his consent, through the medium of his representative. No person can contend, that the *Roman Catholic*, although he is admitted to poll at elections, is yet represented fully, to all intents and purposes, since, however he might wish to return one of his own persuasion, with whom community of religion might produce a community of interests, and a personal intimacy, with a higher degree of confidence, yet, with respect to such a person, his choice is interdicted.

I am sorry to find, at this particular juncture, that a cold temporising language, with a certain mixture of mystery and obscurity, is so much in fashion. It is said, if the *Roman Catholics* are wise, they will wait—they will not speak out.—“They will not even whisper lest the intrusive sound may disturb the meditations of a Ministry, at this moment occupied in deep cogitations for their good. No true friend of the *Roman Catholics*, or their claims, will advise them to produce the *Roman Catholic* question at this juncture. Let them address only to

to congratulate.—Let them meet, only to adjourn.—Let them resolve, only to postpone.—Let them not fiercely press on the maidenish coyness of a new Administration, young, tender, and *fore afraid*; lest, *Daphne-like*, it may fly for ever from their embrace.—In the language of *Musidora* to *Damon*—

“ Be still, as now, discreet,
“ A time may come.”

THOMPSON.

Every one has heard this language.—Whence does it proceed?—Why are the adherents and retainers of the Ministry, so anxious to prevent any discussion of the *Roman Catholic* question, in the present session of Parliament? It was formerly thought, and I believe with great justice thought, that every discussion of the subject was useful—that, although it failed of attaining the great object, it nevertheless obtained a very important object; it softened down opposition—it made some approach to the measure—it made it less and less an alarming novelty—it gave men of great ability, and high character, an opportunity of delivering their sentiments enforced with convincing argument, and persuasive eloquence. Their speeches went abroad, and infused liberality into the general mind. Thus, the very debates on the question were productive of much good; and being removed, as they were, from all heat and virulence (if we except the speech of one low-born foolish zealot) could not be attended by any ill consequence. Such, I am certain, was the opinion of the present members of Administration, when they supported the *Roman Catholic* claims from the opposition benches,

A plain man, who is not a politician, would suppose the present juncture, the present moment, the most favourable that could possibly offer to the Catholics, for bringing forward this great conciliatory question. The very men who most ardently supported their Petition, who encouraged their hopes the last year, are now invested with power. They have formed an Administration which unites most of the talent, consequence, and patriotism in the country,

country. Surely it is to such a Ministry that the *Roman Catholics* should naturally turn themselves. It might well be expected, that such a Ministry would wish to signalize the commencement of their career, by an act of liberality and justice. It is to be supposed that their wishes are most highly favourable to the measure, and that their power is co-extensive with their wish. It is not to be supposed, that they were so enamoured of office, which they describe as a *bed of thorns and thistles, not of roses*, that they have purchased it by any surrender of principle—by any stipulation to repress the *Roman Catholic* claims—by any thing, which can amount to a desertion of a cause, which seemed to lie so near their hearts. I cannot think, that Ministers are apprehensive that the discussion of this question would force them to retract or unsay their former speeches and declarations, I must think that insinuations, such as I have stated, are injurious to the present Ministry; and do not proceed from them, or their true friends.

There can really be but two grounds, on which Ministry should be indisposed towards the introduction of the *Catholic question*.—That they are really unfriendly to the *Catholic* cause, and only profess a regard to it, as a means of embarrassing their predecessors, and furnishing to themselves a plausible topic of declamation while they were in opposition—or that they feel themselves unable to carry the measure, and therefore deprecate a discussion, which must lead to a disclosure of their weakness, and perhaps to a loss of their situations. The first supposition cannot be entertained for a moment. I should be sorry, very sorry, to believe, that there is any ground for the other. I should be sorry to think, that the present able and honest men who form the Ministry, should have come into place, without coming into power, trammelled and blindfolded, and unable to execute what their judgments and consciences tell them may be necessary for the public good. I should be sorry to think they could degrade themselves by any poor compromise, which should restrict them to half-measures—which should exact of them derelictions, surrenders, sacrifices, and oblivion of the past, and of themselves; thereby making of an
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excellent opposition, a bad Ministry—for every *imbecile* Ministry is a bad one, and will so be called by the Nation. I cannot admit, therefore, either of the foregoing suppositions.

I have heard a kind of a dark insinuation, of a nature so irreverent, that it is scarcely fit to be stated. It is suggested; that Ministry are zealous for the interests of the *Roman Catholic*; but find their good intentions controlled in a quarter, where, surely nothing that appears to the proper and constitutional deliberative authority to be for the public welfare, will ever meet with opposition. A patriotic and enlightened Sovereign will always be disposed to meet the wishes, and consult the happiness and tranquillity of his people. I shall not enlarge on this delicate topic—I shall only say, that it is highly disrespectful, to introduce, in this manner, the very greatest names, and even to dare to contrast the sentiments and wishes of an illustrious and dutiful son, with those of his august and venerated parent. I must repeat, that supposing, but not admitting, that such an impediment exists, the present Ministry should not have come into office, while it stood in their way.

I have heard it said, that a great personage is persuaded, that a King of *England* is bound by his Coronation Oath, in which he swears to maintain the Church of *England*, as by law established, from agreeing to any repeal of the existing laws against *Roman Catholics*; whereby they might obtain the privilege of sitting in Parliament. The repeal of the laws against *Roman Catholics* would not take away one of the securities of the established Church. The objection might be a good one, if the *Roman Catholics* sought for any thing more than mere toleration—sought to make theirs, also, an established Church. The only suppositions, on which it can be inferred, that the admission of *Roman Catholics* into Parliament could endanger the present Church establishment, are so wild, absurd and extravagant, that they scarcely deserve an answer.—Either the *Roman Catholics* must obtain a majority in each House of Parliament, (for a majority in one will not serve their turn) or the *Roman Catholics* in Parliament, whether few or many, must bribe or persuade the *Protes-*
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tant part of both Houses, to vote away the present Church establishment—a measure, to which I think it would not be easy to reconcile the Right Reverend Bench of Bishops, who are seldom inattentive to their own interests. Supposing, by miracle, such a measure to pass both Houses of Parliament, the *Roman Catholics* would not be the nearer their object. The established Church would still be perfectly secure, in the constitutional power vested in the King of *England*, who, in conformity with his oath, would put his negative on the Bill. To convince us the more, how visionary such a fear is, let it be remembered, that the Reformation took place, the religion of the majority of *Englishmen* was changed, the Reformation was established, and became the state religion of the country, when *Roman Catholics* had a right to sit in Parliament, and were much more numerous than they are at present. Danger to the established Church, from the *Roman Catholics*, at this day, is wholly visionary. In fact, there is much greater danger to the authority of the Crown, and to the established religion of the country, from the multitude of sectaries, with which every part of the *British* Islands swarms. They have not only intruded themselves into the Senate, but even into the Church, and every where bring with them a zeal in making converts, and a heat of religious enthusiasm, which disposes them to consider the impulse of a blind, impetuous zeal as a divine inspiration, and of paramount authority to all the provisions of law, and rules of morality. I shall not dwell longer on this topic of the Coronation Oath, to which I think more weight, than it deserves, has been attached; but refer you to Sir *John Throgmorton's* excellent Pamphlet, which fully discusses this point among others.

I cannot, however, forbear transcribing one or two remarks from this Tract: “It merits some remark, that the King is thus laid under the hard obligation of swearing to maintain two religious establishments, in their tenets extremely opposite, but which are both declared to be true churches. *The true Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian Church Government*—are the words of the *Scottish Act*, incorporated into the *Act of Union*, which

which so followed. What now can be said?—That *Anne*, bound by her Coronation Oath to maintain the established religion of the country, like her predecessors, *Henry VIII. Elizabeth* and *William*, violated that oath, and thereby broke the compact with her people; or rather, that, consenting to the opinion of that people, conveyed to her by their representatives in Parliament, she acted as the principles of the Constitution manifestly directed? If the contrary doctrine be maintained, what perplexing difficulties present themselves!" He then proceeds—"On the same principle, which directed the conduct of *Anne*, surrounded as she was by able interpreters of the law, his present Majesty, it may be said, has proceeded, in assenting to the various Bills, which here and in *Ireland* have passed, to repeal many penal and disabling Statutes. They led not, indeed, as in *Scotland*, to the establishment of a different religion, and therefore required less solemnity of deliberation: still, they were precursory to an *Act*, which cannot be very distant, which shall give to all *British* subjects an equal participation of rights and privileges. The religion of the State, I know, is little, if at all here concerned; but we have seen two Acts, those of *Canada*, and of the transient kingdom of *Corsica*, which, if they stand in need of any defence, must be defended, on the principle that established the work of *Scotland*."

Much of the future fortunes of this land depend on your conduct and talents. The repose and comfort of the country must depend greatly on the financial regulations which may be adopted. The situation of *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, at all times most important; is now peculiarly arduous. The country has great burthens and difficulties to encounter; and the people must be compelled to suffer great distresses and privations. A *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, at this juncture, should possess superior talent, with superior energy. He should have a mind highly cultivated with various knowledge, and possess a general acquaintance with the commerce, the industry, and resources of the country, with its true inter-

terests, and the temper and habits of its people. He should have a manly character—an integrity free from bias—a mixture of firmness and benevolence, to enable him to qualify the ungracious office of Taxation with conciliation, and at the same time to execute his plans with steadiness. He should possess an ample and independent fortune, with a popular character, that the people may repose on his operations with confidence, and not be led to murmur, by any supposition, that, in his financial measures he may be guided by any attention to self, or views of increasing his private fortune. I will suppose this sketch to be a transcript of the endowments which you possess, and which determined the noble Lord, now at the head of the Treasury, and who seems decidedly to rule the present Ministry, to entrust you with so great a portion of the fate of *Ireland*. I am convinced, he saw in you all the requisites, which the high and difficult situation required.—I am persuaded, that he saw in you some greater proofs and pledges of regard for the welfare of *Ireland*, than were evinced by your voting for the UNION.—That he discovered in you a mine of knowledge, financial and commercial, much greater than could be acquired behind the counter of a country Bank; and that he sees in you an enlargement of mind, and dignity of independence, which will steer clear of any undue bias, in the remission of money to *England*, or other pecuniary operations of your department.

You have commenced your financial career with good omens. It is to be hoped, that the close will be suitable to the commencement. A due regard to the interests of *Ireland* has been evinced, in the liberal grants for various works and undertakings of public utility. You have also shewn a commendable attention to the sufferings of the poor, and a humane disposition to ameliorate their condition, by moving, as the first fruits of your entrance on office, for a repeal of a most severe and cruel Tax, that of three shillings yearly on the dwellings of the lower classes.* It were much to be wished, that the circumstances of the times would allow you to accompany it,

it, by the repeal of other Taxes, which press hard on the poor, and are not very productive—Such, for instance, are the Taxes on salt and leather.

If I am not much mistaken, you have found every thing in your province in a strange state of perplexity and confusion. The collection of the Revenue, if I am rightly informed, was unsettled, and quite at sea, through a variety of new and contradictory regulations. This, I am much afraid, has considerably embarrassed the collection of the Revenue, and produced a defalcation from the estimated amount of many Taxes.—Be a man—dare to act from yourself, if you are able.—Be not led implicitly by any political or financial Mentor.—Be not swayed by the authority of great names. If you find, that any haughty and self-opiniated rage for innovation—any ambitious desire of founding a new school of Revenue law quackery in *Ireland*—a new fiscal system on the ruins of a structure, which has stood the test of a century and an half—has thrown the collection of the Revenue into confusion: lose no time, but hasten to apply the only effectual remedy, by restoring matters to their old situation. Nothing can be more injurious in a legislature, than a rash desire of novelty, and the love of intermeddling, particularly, in the complicated and extensive arrangements, and establishments, of Revenue Administration, and fiscal jurisprudence. I believe, you will find that some late enactments have introduced much doubt and confusion. You will find a strange collision and rivalry of influence and authority—inexplicable concurrence of tribunals, and multiplication of jurisdiction—the Commissioners of the Revenue, and Commissioners of the Treasury—the Court of Appeals, and the Court of Exchequer—the Sub-commissioners, and the Justices of the Peace—these produce a labyrinth of doubt and uncertainty—a scene of confusion, doubly

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* The Act required an Affidavit and Certificate, that the house to be exempted was not worth fifty shillings, or five pounds, as the case might be, and that the person occupying it had not goods or chattels to the amount of ten pounds.

and triply confounded, which would ~~choice~~ Chaos and Old-night themselves.

Among the various considerations which will present themselves to your clear discernment, and comprehensive and enlightened understanding, one of the first will be the present state of the Revenue code. In *Ireland* you will find it voluminous, above measure—so full of obscurity, confusion and contradictions, that it is a disgrace to Legislation. You will observe the multitude of regulations producing irregularity, and the solicitude to accumulate penalties, tending to give a total impunity. You will find the various new enactments, introduced to meet or prevent frauds, expressed in such obscure and doubtful terms, that the enactment is evaded as soon as it becomes a law. Indeed, whether it happens from inattention, or inability, the Revenue Statutes are, in general, so framed, that there is hardly a clause in them, which is not doubtful in its construction, and does not afford matter for serious litigation when it first comes to be acted upon. Whether this is calculated for the emolument of the Crown Lawyers, and the Agents for the Revenue, or for the greater punishment of the fraudulent dealer, by superinducing, over and above the penalty or forfeiture to which he is ultimately subjected, the misery of a tedious and expensive litigation, to which he is subjected, by the obscurity of the Statute, and emboldened by the blandishments of Attornies and Lawyers—certainly, there must have been some reason for an obscurity, which seems to be studied, and to be too generally prevalent, to have proceeded from mere accident. Considering how many learned and eminent professional men are concerned in framing the Revenue Acts, and peruse them before they pass into laws, the defects and blemishes of the Code are astonishing. For several years past, there have been two Counsel to the Commissioners of the Revenue, whose whole business it ought to be, to watch over the interests of that department, and who are liberally paid, for devoting their time to that object, as they are supposed to do. They are said to receive, on an average, about three thousand pounds per annum each, enough, surely, to satisfy the wishes of a reasonable

ble man. These gentlemen, together with the Attorney, and Solicitor-General, are supposed to peruse all the drafts of the Revenue Statutes yearly; at least, they are paid for so doing; and one would be apt to wonder, how so many traps for litigation escape their care and penetration.

It is not to be imagined, that men of high character, who have successively filled the station of Counsel to the Commissioners of the Revenue, could have endeavoured to swell their own profits by the multiplication of suits; but certainly, when you come to look into the Revenue incidents, you will be surprised at the heavy expense to the public, induced by the prosecution of litigated causes in the Excise Courts. It is hard to say, whether the expense to the Nation, or the vexation to the individual, is more grievous. You will, I dare say, apply the hand of a Master to the correction of this abuse. *Ireland* is peculiarly unfortunate in many particulars, and in this, among others, that the collection of the public Revenues is attended with much heavier expense here than in *England*. I believe there is the monstrous disparity of two or three per cent. to the disadvantage of *Ireland*. And yet, we have here a summary judicature, which very much simplifies and abbreviates the course of fiscal jurisprudence, and should ensure a great saving of expense to the country. But, the inveterate system of jobbing in *Ireland*, and the extension of patronage, the creation of unnecessary places, and the extravagant appointments of those which may be necessary, are productive of immeasurable expense. I am convinced, it is very practicable, to devise regulations, or rather, without innovation, to enforce existing regulations, in such a manner, that the Revenue may be collected much more effectually, on cheaper terms. The attainment of this object well deserves the exertions of your wisdom and patriotism; it will also be a care worth your attention, to prevent the remission of penalties and forfeitures from being partially and unfairly exercised, for the extension of local influence, and the purposes of electioneering. Indeed, not to enlarge on this hint, you will readily see,
that

that such practices have prevailed. I know not whether you will arrogate to yourself such a height of power as your predecessor assumed; perhaps, you have entered into office under stipulated terms of submission, or rather of relinquishing pretensions, to power and patronage, which Mr. *Foster* advanced, and which, had he been disposed to relinquish, he might have retained his situation. I should be sorry to suppose this possible, because it would augur ill as to your firmness in other respects, and might lead us to apprehend that you might be disposed to make other surrenders, and to be only a passive instrument in the hands of others, without the power of pursuing the dictates of your own patriotism. Mr. *Foster* introduced a course of enquiry and prosecution, against those who were indebted to the public; as for instance, Collectors, and their securities. It is to be feared, this measure will be attended with less benefit than at first sight it promised. In many instances the claims have been resisted, and heavy expenses have been incurred in the prosecution of them. It will be worthy of your vigilance, duly seconded by the Commissioners of the Revenue, to take care, that no merchants shall remove their goods from the Custom-house quay, without the actual payment of the duties, except in the cases where by law they are allowed to be warehoused; and that no money shall be allowed to remain in the hands of the collectors. It would probably be a more economical regulation for the public, and would contribute much to the ease and security of the fair trader, if, in future, the gentlemen who may be Counsel to the Commissioners, were to have fixed salaries adequate to their trouble, and the importance of their services. Suppose even such a liberal appointment as two thousand pounds per annum, in place of a scrambling and greedy Revenue, collected on credit account of particular fees for each particular piece of business transacted in the office.

When you come to consider the necessity for imposing heavy burthens on the country, you will, at the same time, be struck with the necessity for looking into the collection of the existing Taxes, and considering whether

ther they are at present fully collected. The real amount of the Window Tax, as it is now augmented, must be very great—much greater, I should suppose, than the estimated amount assigned to it. From the consideration of the number of houses in *Ireland*, and again of the population of the country, I have been constantly surprised to find the produce of the Window Tax, as returned to Parliament, no greater. I have been led, to suspect, that there was some fallacy in the business; and that large part of the money payable under this impost, was not called in, from the occupiers or proprietors of houses, until after the returns were made into Parliament, for the express purpose of extenuating the apparent amount of the Tax—thus an unappropriated sum remained in hand, and a pretext was given for some increase of taxation, which might otherwise have been avoided. If any thing like this should have been the case, I am sure it will be rectified by your care and attention. You will see that the Stamp Act of the last Session was drawn up with uncommon negligence, that certain particulars, intended to be comprised in it, were totally omitted through haste and inattention, that certain regulations respecting the distribution of Stamps, and the persons, whose duty and emolument it should be to distribute them, were left in the greatest confusion. A Stamp Tax is in general a very eligible mode of levying money, from its being very divisible, being usually paid cheerfully, and collected with certainty and cheapness. Perhaps, you may be able to discover some new and fair objects of a Stamp Duty. But I should hope, that your patriotism, and compassion for the languishing manufactures of the country, would prevent your applying the Stamp impost to any other branches of manufacture, which are not, at present, subject to it, or augmenting it, on those which are now subject. I should not object to your laying a very heavy additional Stamp duty on the sale of quack medicines, cosmetics and perfumery—these are things wholly superfluous. If the use were discouraged, it would be so much the better. If they shall continue to be used, at an advanced price, the additional expense will fall only on the credulous, the foolish,

foolish, and the idle. The gratifications of the rich and luxurious—the incentives to vice and folly, and the instruments of vicious indulgence, will ever be selected by a wise and patriotic Financier, as peculiarly proper objects of taxation; and there will always be found but too many ready to pay the Tax. I am grieved, however, to learn that an additional Tax on paper is to be one of the new imposts of the year. I would hope, that while you feel the lamentable necessity of imposing heavy burthens on the people, you will do every thing in your power to preclude murmuring and discontent. The first and most essential step to this, will be to convince the suffering people, by the adoption of an impartial and rigid system of œconomy, that their burthens are not wantonly or unnecessarily increased. Let all corrupt jobs be suppressed—let all grants of money, on a principle of favouritism, for idle, chimerical, or problematical objects, be strenuously resisted. You will also endeavour to prevent the future creation of unnecessary places.—You will aim at the suppression of some of those unnecessary places which already exist.—You will not wish to promote a profuse and unnecessary enlargement of the Pension List.—This caution is peculiarly necessary at the present moment. It is but reasonable and just, that old and faithful servants of the public should be allowed to repose in comfort, after a long period of diligence and utility. The Law recognises this principle, with respect to the Judges of the superior Courts, Assistant Barristers, and Officers in the service of the Revenue; but, I am sure, you will exert yourself—(indeed I should hope, there would be no need for exertion on the occasion,) to check the practice of granting pensions to to the full amount of their salaries, to persons, strong, vigorous, and capable, in every respect, of discharging the duties of their stations, merely to make room for some favourite, or importunate expectant. Should such things still continue, they will make unfavourable impressions on the public mind, the more unfavourable, as a very different conduct was expected. The poor man, who is bowed down, and sinking into the dust, with the weight

weight, should be convinced that his burthens, and every part and particle of them, are unavoidable.

As some very large supply will be requisite for the exigencies of the season, I suppose, that, instead of resorting to the paltry details of a number of small Taxes, which are usually fallacious in their promise, you will pursue the compendious road, by which you will certainly attain your end. You will resort to a Land Tax. In the present state of things, a Land Tax is the least burthensome we can imagine. I am particularly favourable to it, because it will oblige the absentees, who at present drain the country of so much money, to contribute to the public burthens. In adjusting the distribution of the Land Tax, from the Lord of the soil downwards, through the distributive interests, you will have an opportunity of pursuing a very popular course—I mean of discouraging and discountenancing a class of people, who have been pointed out as the bane of this country—I mean the race of *middle men*, as they are vulgarly called. This class of land-holders are very numerous—they often have a more valuable tenure in the land, than the Lord of the soil himself. Yet, I am apt to think, that such a severity to the *middle-men*, though highly justifiable by the circumstances of the country, and both politic and popular, will be rejected by you, as breaking in on the regular scale and proportion of Taxation, as taken with a view to income merely, which you may think yourself bound to take as your guide.

As I have happened to mention this class of people, allow me to say, that although their existence is, no doubt, an evil, yet it is an evil rather symptomatic of the diseases of the country than the disease itself. I have heard much declamation on the subject of *middle-men*, as they are called; but it has ever proceeded from persons, who either did not consider and understand the true state of the country, or, if they did, wished to blind the eyes of the public, and turn away the minds of the people, from the real causes of the decline of manufactures, the backward state of agriculture, the want of industry in general, the squalid wretchedness and miserable oppressed condition of the *Irish* peasantry. We

hear and read a vast deal about *middle-men*.—We are told of the small wages, and long days labour of the *Irish* poor. Every man who sees these things, must find his heart wrung with sorrow and pity; but how are they to be remedied?—Are we to annihilate the class of *middle-men*, by restraining the power of landlords to let their lands as may best suit their convenience, and the local circumstances of their estates?—Are we to restrict the tenant—the farmer, from bidding for lands, which he does not mean to hold in his own occupation? The scheme is wild, absurd, and impracticable; and if it were practicable, would be most injurious to the country, destructive of public resources, and ruinous to the proprietor of land, who, after all, is the bulwark of the State. Lands, if I mistake not, are already falling in their value; and the consequence of any such injudicious tampering, must be a rapid depreciation in the rate of purchase. The free disposition of property is a most material part of the freedom of the individual—it cannot be violated without public injustice, and public inconvenience. *Middle-men* can only arise where lands are let reasonable; and we may always, with safety, entrust to the owner of land, or his agent, the patriotic care of letting them at the highest rate which may be obtained.* As to the abridging, by law, the time, during which a peasant shall work, or increasing the daily stipend which he shall receive for his labour, it is a foolish and idle declamation—a foolish simulation of humanity. People, who talk thus, forget that the labourer engages voluntarily, at a stipulated hire, to work for a stipulated time. They speak, as if he were the property of his employer, like the Negro in the *West-Indies*. They should recollect, that, as he is not obliged to engage with the farmer, so, neither is the farmer obliged to employ him.—They should recollect that labour, which, in fact, is the measure of all value, is a merchandisable commodity, like all other things that come into market.—That, like the price of other things, the price of labour will find its own level.—That, if there are multitudes unemployed,

* See a Letter in *Cobbet's Political Register*.

employed, there will be numerous candidates for employment; the employer will have his choice; and, of course, will select those who engage to do most work, for the least money. Those then, who talk of regulating by law the rate or the time of labour, would begin at the wrong end, and shew themselves as ignorant of political œconomy, as they are of the true state of this country. The misery of the poor of *Ireland* is much to be deplored, and the more, because it cannot be removed, at once, by Acts of Parliament, which would only drive the farmer to employ fewer labourers, and perform many works, in which he now uses the hand of man, by machinery, or cattle. Let it not be concealed, that the low price of labour in *Ireland*, is a proof of the radical state of misery of the country. It is a proof of two things—the scarcity of money, and the low state of commerce, manufactures, and agricultural improvement. Whence is the price of labour so low in *Ireland*?—from the number of the labouring poor, who are left unemployed. If we would look for the source of these evils, let us look to the provincial situation of *Ireland*; partly possessed by an *English* colony—to an oppressive Tithe establishment—to the fatal discouragements which have been thrown in the way of our manufactures—to the multitude of our absentees—our unhappy religious differences—and lastly, as operating both substantively in itself, and making all the rest hopeless—the UNION.

“ If thou could’st, Doctor, cast
 “ The water of the land, find her disease,
 “ And purge her, to a sound and pristine health,
 “ I should applaud thee to the very echo,
 “ That should applaud again.”——

There is a measure, which ought to accompany the imposition of a Land Tax, which would more ameliorate the condition of the people, and contribute more effectually to reconcile them to their burthens, and to remove their discontents, than any thing which can be devised—I mean the ABOLITION OF TITHES. If you seriously mean to promote the welfare of this country, and have the courage and ability that your situation requires, you

will not be startled at this proposal. The idea, I believe, is not wholly new—it had occurred to Mr. Pitt a considerable time ago; and he meant to extend the measure to both countries. It might be right to do so; but, the peculiar circumstances of *Ireland*, and the singular hardships under which the peasantry labour, from the severe and cruel exactions, to which they are subjected, on account of Tithes, render some interference of the Legislature absolutely necessary to redress a crying grievance. If Tithes are to continue, you should forthwith repeal that scandalous vote of an *Irish* House of Commons, legislating for their own emolument, and declaring, in defiance of shame, that *Agistment Tithes* shall not be demandable. But, I should rather wish that Tithes might be altogether suppressed. In *England* they are not so heavy a grievance: the rapacity of the incumbent and improPRIATOR, and their proctors and agents, are restrained by modulus. I would not propose to lessen the clear amount of what the established Church of *Ireland* now receives for its support. I would only rescue the people from the grievous extortions which they suffer, through the present injudicious mode of collecting that revenue, which produces to the people misery and discontent—to the Church, discredit and odium—to the State, danger. It would take away all occasion of disreputable and unchristian contest and animosities, between the clergy and their parishioners.—I would preclude all personal and individual dealings between them, except in works of conciliation, friendship, and good offices. Now, (you will say,) can this be accomplished?—as the Church is a part of the political establishment, it ought to be maintained by the State. Let the amount of parochial Tithes be valued according to an average of five or seven years, let this amount become a public charge, and be raised by an acreable applotment, either as a parish cess, under Act of Vestry, or by Grand Jury Presentment, as a sum to be levied on the county at large. The details of the plan might be easily adjusted, if the principle were once admitted.

I apprehend, however, that the difficulties of the time, and the urgent wants, which stare upon you, like

Like a hungry wolf in your path, if you continue long enough in place, which I very much doubt, to devise the supplies for the succeeding year, will not allow you to think of a gratuitous abolition of Tithes: No—I am rather disposed to think, that, whether you do or do not approve of the change I have proposed, you will find the genius of Taxation so exhausted, the resources of this wretched country so completely deficient, that you will be driven, however reluctantly, to fasten on Tithes. By the sale of Tithes, to the owners and occupiers of the land, and the transfer of the maintenance of the Church to a general Tax, to be allocated by the people themselves, you will derive a very abundant supply in the time of your necessity.—You will be able, instead of augmenting yet more a House Tax, or a Land Tax, to sell the inheritance of Tithes to the owners or tenants of the land. This will readily produce, within the year, a sum much greater than the service of the year will demand, and release the agriculture and improvement of the country, from this cruel and disheartening clog. The novelty of the idea may, at first, startle some persons, who are wedded to forms; but, in the present circumstances of the country and the times, you will find it a much better expedient than a Property Tax. A Property Tax would completely expose the wretchedness of the country; it would then appear how fallacious the appearances of opulence are, even among the higher classes, and those who are in this country deemed wealthy.—What misery and insolvency exist among the lower classes.—What destructive and ruinous arts are daily resorted to by traders and manufacturers to keep their sinking credit afloat. A Property Tax would go near to effect the total annihilation of the small remains of exertion and industry, which yet subsist in the country, and the consumption of all its resources—the extinction of all capability of future Taxation. The sale of Tithes, on the contrary, would rapidly bring in a large sum of money for present exigencies—it would be collected at very small expense—it would be cheerfully paid, instead of exciting murmurs and discontent; and it would tend to increase the future means and resources of the country.

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by increasing industry, and the spirit of commercial improvement. I have conversed with many of the most liberal and enlightened and at the same time, the most truly religious clergymen of the established Church; they concurred, in thinking, that the present mode of providing for the clergy is unpopular, oppressive, and injudicious—unsatisfactory and troublesome to the Ecclesiastic, odious to the Layman; and in wishing, that some effectual and adequate substitute could be devised by the Legislature.

I could wish, at the same time, that the condition of the established Church in general might be made more comfortable and respectable, by making it more equitable. A very large establishment is provided for the maintenance of the Church in this country—unreasonably great indeed, considering the means of the country; but it centers in a few hands, and, I fear, does not contribute to the comforts, or even the decencies of the ecclesiastical body at large, and therefore, not to the interests of religion in general. On the contrary, the gross disproportion of livings raises a general prejudice against the Church. The pomp and luxury of the beneficed clergy, and the squalid poverty of the curates, bring the whole order into contempt. The clergy of the established Church in this country amount to about one thousand and sixty—the number of Church preferments, including bishopricks, which exceed six hundred pounds yearly, are confined to about one hundred persons, many of whom derive princely incomes from the Church—many of whom accumulate pluralities, without shame or moderation—many of whom, as appears by the printed book of episcopal returns, are absent from their livings. This gross disparity in the situation of the clergy, calls for the correcting interference of the Legislature. The situation of the great body of the clergy requires to be made more comfortable and respectable by an augmentation of small Church livings, and of the stipends of curates; and an ample fund might be obtained for the purpose. The disparity between the amount of the incomes of the Aristocracy and Democracy of the clergy, is really outrageous and shocking. The accumulation of
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large pluralities is sinful—it tends to neglect of duty and the decay of religion—it precludes the advancement of merit, the due reward of learning and piety in the Church, and ought, by all means, to be prevented. The enormous wealth of some of the proud, lazy, stall-fed ecclesiastical monopolists, might well bear the pruning knife of reformation; and the parings of their superfluities would furnish out a decent maintenance for their poorer brethren—they should, indeed, these poor children of the Church should be allowed, to gather up the crumbs from the rich mens' table. It is at once a shameful and pitiable thing, to see the extremes of poverty and riches in the Church, which is dignified with the name of established.

It is the wish of every serious well-wisher to the cause of religion in general, and of our established Church in particular, that the present Bill for enforcing the residence of the clergy, now pending in Parliament, may pass into a law. That provision in the Bill, for augmenting the salary of the poor laborious resident curate, in-proportion to the revenue of the rich, luxurious, absent incumbent, is most just and salutary. I cannot conceive, why the Bill should have experienced an opposition from that distinguished patriot, Mr. *Grattan*. The Bill is merely in imitation of one, which has been adopted for *England*. Surely, it is not possible, that any childish antipathy to Dr. *Duigenan*, the introducer of the Bill, could have operated on his manly and upright mind, to the prejudice of a measure, good in itself. It is equally impossible, that any motive of connexion with individuals, whose interests might be affected by the operation of such a law, could influence the parliamentary conduct of that upright senator.—Neither will I suppose him, in general, unfriendly to religion, or even to our Church establishment—certainly I never knew him to take such weak ground. He said the circumstances of this country and of *England* are different—if it be so, it is an additional reason for enforcing the residence of the clergy. If the country be so backward in cultivation and manners, it is the more requisite to improve them by sending among them missionaries of decorum and good

good order. It would certainly be a most desirable and useful thing, if one gentleman of learning, piety, and good moral character, should be obliged to reside in every parish, for the edification of his neighbours. If there are not good habitations to be had in some parishes, (and I believe it is seldom the case) that is a better reason for building glebe houses, than for dispensing with residence. A non-resident clergyman is the worst of absentees. I would beg you to recollect, that the principal part of the Act is modelled upon the *English* Statute, if not copied from it verbatim. If the residence of the beneficed clergyman ought to be enforced, it is proper, also, to increase the comforts of the curate, who resides, and performs all the duty. I am sorry, therefore, to learn that the *Curates' Bill* has miscarried; and that Mr. Fox even spoke against it—this bodes ill to the success of the Residence Act. I am sorry to think there must be somewhere a dislike of the Church government, which may be traced to the sectarian party in the House, who have many traits of *Jacobinism*; or a personal distrust of the Bishops individually.

Thus, I have adverted to some of the various difficulties which surround the present Ministry, not with the malignant pleasure of an enemy, but the anxious solicitude of a sincere friend. I would dwell the more on these difficulties, because I think they should lead the persons, who are now in power, to cherish *Ireland*, where the principles, on which they have come into place, have been ever prevalent; and which gave such a decided preference to their party, at the time of the great Regency question. If it is not their principle, on every occasion, to despise and neglect their friends, and espouse and promote their enemies, they will remember this conduct of *Ireland* with gratitude, and draw from it omens of future regard and attachment, in the midst of their difficulties. The sincere affections and warm hearts of the *Irish* Nation were then with them. It should be their policy to retain those hearts and affections. The *Irish* Nation are easily soothed and won, even by the professions of kindness. The greater the difficulties are, which surround the present Ministry, the more cautious should they be,
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of alienating those, who are disposed to support them. It should be recollected too, with a mixture of pity and gratitude, that much of the present sufferings of *Ireland* may be ascribed to the upright and loyal conduct which the people then pursued. The conduct of the *Irish Nation* towards their *Prince* at the crisis of a *Regency*, contributed to accelerate the fatal measure of an *UNION*.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE foregoing sheets were written some months ago, immediately on the late change of Administration. The publication was delayed by accidents not necessary to be stated here. Some events have since happened, which have changed many passages, which were predictions or speculations when the Author wrote, into mere details of fact. This circumstance may somewhat diminish the interest that this Pamphlet might have exacted, but does not diminish the force of the argument. Much, however, remains to be verified, but, I fear, will be verified too soon. Since this Work went to Press, the Author has had an opportunity of seeing a large and elaborate Pamphlet, on the State of the Nation, written, with the express purpose of reconciling the people to peace, by depicting the deplorable situation in which the present Ministers found the country, on their entrance into office, and the prospects, which present themselves on every side, from the continuance of the war. This elaborate Pamphlet is compiled from authentic documents, and written with considerable ability, and is deserving of the highest credit,* as it is known to proceed from
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* It is ascribed by many to Lord *Holland*, by others to Mr. *Brougham*, an able Writer.

The Pamphlet in question has excited much attention, and I do not wonder at it; it deserves to be diligently perused, as unfolding many state arcana. But, I think it a most impolitic and injudicious publication. If our situation is so bad, and if peace is so necessary to *England*, and would be so detrimental to *Buonaparte*, why proclaim this to the world?—Why render peace less attainable?—Why teach our enemy to insist on exorbitant terms?

that part of the present Ministry which is favourable to peace. The fact of its publication, and its contents, strongly corroborate my arguments against the stability of the present Ministry; and prove that the seeds of discord are sown among them, and are likely to sprout forth, and produce bitter fruits in a short time. This Publication seems to be the commencement of a paper war between the different parties in the Cabinet. It is, indeed, a direct attack on the war party—the whole argument of it implies such a marked censure on their conduct, and such reprobation of their principles, as must be the prelude to an open breach. Such a violent difference of opinions, openly avowed, and strongly maintained, cannot long consist with good temper and mutual cordiality. In another respect this Pamphlet confirms my observations.—A great part of it is directed to shew the fatal incapacity and dreadful mismanagement of the late Ministry, with respect to the foreign relations of *England*, and shews, that to the late Ministry alone the total prostration of the House of *Austria* must be ascribed.—Who was the guiding spirit of that Ministry?—Was it not Mr. *Pitt*?—and does not every argument of that kind go to condemn the weakness, or prove the disunion of that Ministry, who, feeling and deploring the tendency of Mr. *Pitt's* measures, yet gave a sanction to them, by conferring such unqualified honours on his memory? This Pamphlet demonstrates at large what I briefly stated in the outset of the present letter, that this shewed a secret disunion of the Cabinet, at the very commencement of their career, and must damp our reliance on the exertions of Mr. *Fox*, since it shews us that they were not able, in this instance, to prevent his colleagues in office from committing an act of great weakness, and gross inconsistency, very much to their own prejudice; indeed, an act of suicide.

In that part of my Pamphlet, where I advert to the system of Taxation, which would probably be adopted for *Ireland*, I had supposed, that a great part of the supplies for this country, would have been raised within the year, and such was the expectation of many. I find that Mr. *Foster*, and some other very competent judges of the subject,

subject, all objected to the mode of a Loan. This was a measure which, as a true friend of *Ireland*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in my opinion, should have avoided; and it was in the belief, that, as such, he would have been unfriendly to the augmentation of the *Irish* National Debt, that I supposed he would have resorted to some vigorous measure, which would have borne the stamp of genius and patriotism, instead of contenting himself with the obvious common place resource of running more in debt. Can this be done designedly, to increase the state of misery and subjugation of the country? if, after the example of this year, four millions shall annually be added to the debt, *Ireland* will very shortly reach the proportionate ratio of debt, which must subject her to equal Taxation with *Great Britain*.* I have much reason to fear, that we shall be disappointed in our hopes of finding any resources for the public exigencies, in the exertions of œconomy and retrenchment. Yet, how many pensions might be suppress, with justice and universal approbation!—how many unnecessary, and sinecure places might be abolished! I do not speak at random—I have read the able report of the *Commissioners of Enquiry*, laid before Parliament this Session. If the Ministry mean well to this country, and did not come into office merely to feed a hungry train of adherents, and reward the posthumous fame of parliamentary opposition, they will consider this Report attentively. They may from it derive important information, to guide them in plans of œconomy. They will see two columns, in the Appendix to this Report, which might furnish the ground-work for a systematic retrenchment. One consists of places confessedly unnecessary—the other of places, which the holders have converted into sinecures.

Since the foregoing sheets were written, the Opposition have ventured two divisions, and shewn considerable talents for debate, as well as power of numbers. It appears that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been

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* Several obvious and productive articles were omitted—a Tax of one Guinea per year on jaunting Cars would have produced a large sum—why were they omitted and iron proposed to be taxed?

forced to abandon his Tax on iron ; and it may not be easy for him to reconcile the people to the Tax on private brewing, as an apt substitution. At the same time it is whispered, that the divisions in the Cabinet have not been healed, and that Mr. *Fox* has been outvoted on one or two questions—probably on the subject of Negotiations for peace with *France*. The difficulties of the Ministry are now increased, by the decided hostility of *Prussia*, (which they seem to have courted with an heroic rashness, a gallant precipitation,) and the indisposition of *Russia* towards any active exertions in the north of *Europe*. In this situation, finding difficulties rising like the heads of the Hydra—hopeless abroad, thwarted and divided at home, there is room for thinking, that the most ardent and independent part of the Ministry, disgusted with an active and vexatious opposition without, and a secret, frozen and embarrassing resistance within ; and perhaps thwarted, at the same time, by an over-ruling influence felt and understood, but not to be defined, may relinquish their situations. The warm temper, and honest irritability of Mr. *Windham*, will be apt to lead the way in such a movement. We know how abruptly he left his station in *Ireland*, when he was chief Secretary to Lord *Northington*. There is a part of the present Ministry, which has been trained in the same school with the Opposition, and may easily coalesce with them in the prosecution of all the reveries of Mr. *Pitt*, and in the daring all the hazards of a war of extermination. I think one may already perceive some symptoms of this, in the conduct of old *Rose*.

It may be asked—to what good end serves the display of the instability of the present Ministry ?—I say—it answers various good purposes.—It is like the reminding an individual of the shortness of this life, and the near approach of his transit to another world. It will teach them, to *set their house in order, since to-morrow they may die*.—It will warn them, to be circumspect in their conduct, and to cultivate the affections and good opinion of the public, as their best dependence, since their tenure in office is so frail. It will repress the spirit of place-making
and

and profusion—the disposition to provide for friends, at the public expense, by the erection of new Boards, and other devices of that kind.* Such jobbing, under the pretext of Reform—such long-drawn and forward speculations, will not suit the transitory existence of a Ministry of passage.

*Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam
Jam te premet nos, fabulæque manes.*

The recollection, that their political dissolution may be near at hand, will produce a serious and sober temper, which will allay the youthful fervour and hey-day of newly acquired power, and lead them to think of making an edifying and Christian exit—of signing their last Will and Testament, and bequeathing a legacy of œconomy, retrenchment, useful regulations, good works, good laws, good example to their country. At the same time, such a representation must be useful to Ministry; it will serve to account for any indisposition they may shew towards providing for their retainers—it may be useful for relieving them from much importunity and solicitation, by repressing the eagerness of expectants, who now besiege their Levees; by shewing them that places are of less value, than, at first sight, may appear; and may prove only the means of taking them out of their proper element, to fall with greater ruin, from sudden and unused eminence and opulence.

*Cum puer audace cœpit gaudere Volatu,
Deseruitque Ducem : Cœlique Cupidine tactus,
Altius eget iter :*

Ovid.

But, I find that I have exceeded the bounds usually allowed to Pamphlets. It is high time to release the Reader, and repose myself. Many topics yet remain untouched—they may, perhaps, be the subject of a future publication.

* See Cobbet's Political Register, May 17th—27th.

AN INQUIRY
INTO THE
STATE OF THE NATION,
AT THE
COMMENCEMENT
OF THE
PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

" In hujus modi re tantoque bello, maximæ curæ est, ut quæ copiis et opibus tenere vix possumus, ea mansuetudine et continentia nostrâ, sociorum fidelitate teneamus."

Cic. EPIST.

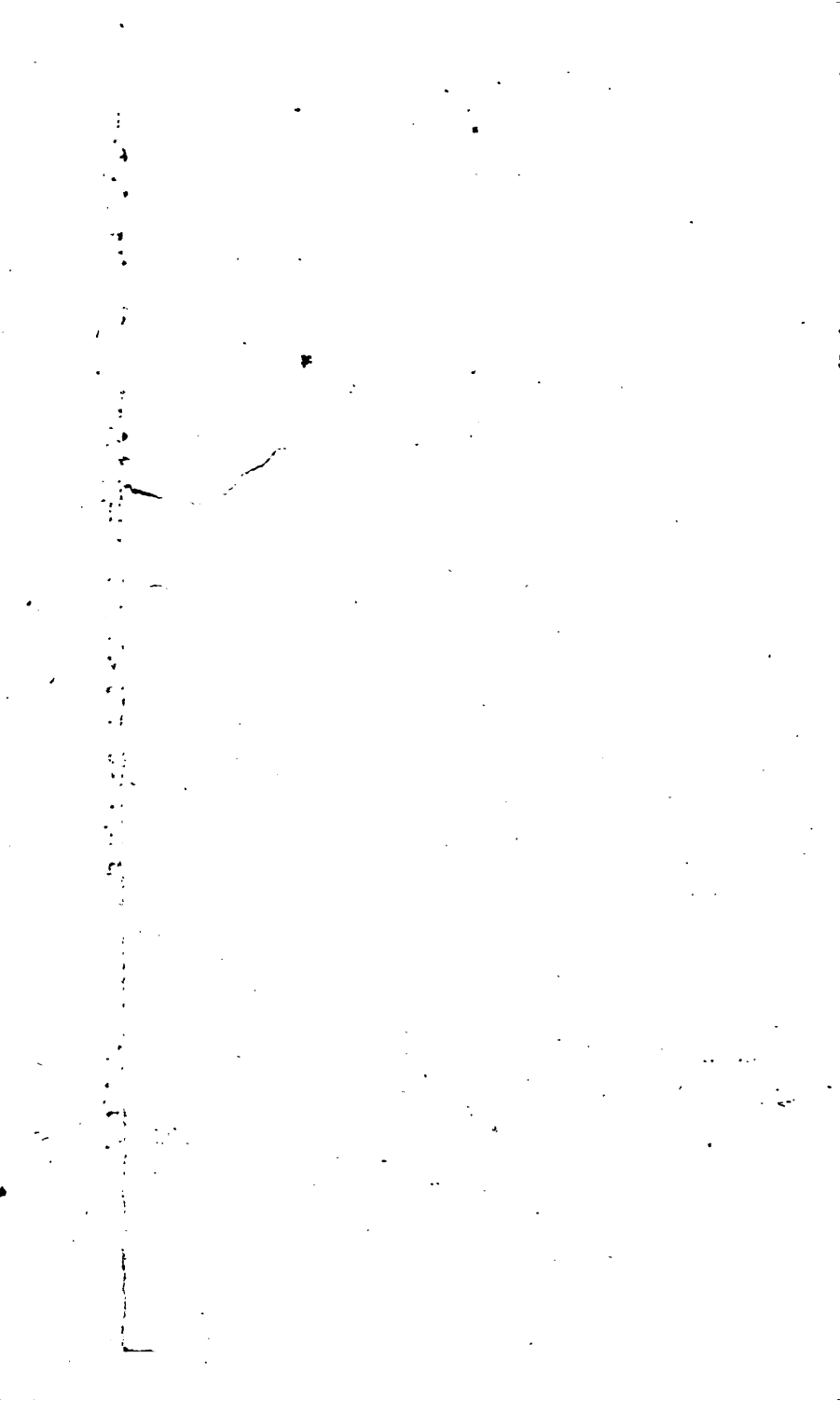
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1806.

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AN

INQUIRY,

&c. &c.

INTRODUCTION.

SINCE the constitution of this country acquired its present form, and public business came to be transacted regularly in the great council of the nation, it has been customary in all important junctures, for our representatives to undertake a general investigation of the state of our affairs. The method of conducting this examination has varied at different periods. Sometimes a motion for inquiry has been

agreed to by the ministry, and their adversaries have been permitted to bring forward their propositions upon the situation of the commonwealth. Sometimes the motion for inquiry has been opposed, while a view of the public misfortunes was given as the ground of claiming a solemn investigation. But in every case the inquiry has substantially been entered into, and has consisted always in the free and comprehensive discussion to which such motions gave rise.

Those who have attended to the tactics of parliamentary debate, and remarked how greatly the separation of different articles of charge assists the party accused in shifting off the attack from any one point, will easily admit the superior advantages of such a comprehensive view of the actual posture of affairs, as we commonly denominate "*a state of the nation.*" It happens, however, that several years have now elapsed, pregnant beyond all former experience in distressing changes, without any discussion of

this wholesome and constitutional nature. In consequence, too, of certain recent occurrences, it has been found impossible to investigate at all, even in their distinct character, those measures which occupied the government during the last vacation. And thus a new ministry is formed, and a new system about to commence, before the account has been settled with the old; before the causes of our present calamities have been ascertained; before the nation has been able to determine, either the extent or the origin of its dangers. Greatly as this change of men and of measures is to be rejoiced at, we may venture to question, whether it would not have secured more solid benefit to the country, had it been delayed until the wisdom of parliament had been applied, to such a full discussion of the late calamitous interference with continental affairs; and such a comprehensive review of our present situation in every particular, as can alone furnish the ground-work of that radical change of system, in which our

only remaining chance of salvation must be sought.

It is to be feared, however, that the change of ministry has deprived us altogether of the benefits which would have resulted from a parliamentary investigation of these grave and difficult subjects : and it becomes the more necessary to attempt such a compilation of particulars, as may assist the public in examining the question out of doors.—With this view the following statement is drawn up. It is a very humble attempt at providing a substitute for the information respecting the state of their affairs, which the people would have received from the deliberations of their representatives, had the formation of the new ministry been so long delayed as to have given time for an inquiry into the state of the nation.

This disquisition may conveniently be arranged under three heads—as it relates to the state of our *foreign relations*, our *domestic œconomy* and our *colonial affairs*. It is of the last importance that

the country should be able to estimate the nature and extent of its resources in each of these departments; and to appreciate the system of management in all of them, which has given rise to the unparalleled dangers that at present surround us on every side. After examining under each head the causes of our calamities, and fairly stating their real extent, we shall shortly inquire if there are any changes of system by which the fate of the empire may yet be stayed.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

In discussing this primary and important branch of the subject, it is necessary to dwell at greater length on points which have never been brought before the Houses of Parliament. Of these the most material, is the late continental policy of the British government. We shall accordingly begin with an examination of the various particulars presented by the history of the "Third grand Coalition." We shall then take a view of the situation in which it has left our external relations. Our attention will be directed in the next place toward the remaining objects of foreign policy in the present crisis ; more particularly the state of the neutral questions ; and we shall conclude with suggesting the change of system which the previous deductions appear to prescribe.

I. THE LATE CONTINENTAL ALLIANCE.

1. The first circumstance which strikes us in contemplating the system of nego-

tion lately pursued by the British cabinet is, that the documents laid before parliament furnish no evidence of any attempts having been made to procure the mediation of our allies for an amicable adjustment of our differences with France. As far back as May 1803, a direct assurance was given by ministers, that they would solicit the mediation of Russia, and in recommending this salutary measure, all parties cordially united. A communication of a pacific nature was received from the French government at the beginning of 1805. His Majesty declined entering into any negotiations until he should consult his allies, and especially the Emperor of Russia; but he expressed himself, at the same time, desirous of seeing such a peace established as might be consistent with security and honour.

It is well known that the dispositions of Russia towards this country were never more favourable, nor her sense of duty towards the rest of Europe more strong, than at the time when the king returned this answer.—Our cabinet then, with the

concurrence of all parties, stood pledged to procure, if possible, the mediation of Russia: The dispositions of France were officially announced, at least, to be pacific. Russia was engaged in confidential intercourse with us: His Majesty was advised only to delay entering upon an amicable discussion with France, in consequence of that intercourse with Russia.—Might it not have been expected that our cabinet would seize this happy juncture, to press for the mediation of a court at once so powerful and so favourably disposed, and thus to redeem its pledge, at least, if not secure an honourable termination of the dispute? Yet it is not a little remarkable, that in the whole mass of papers laid before parliament with a view of detailing the history of the late negotiation, no traces whatever are to be found of any steps towards obtaining the mediatory interference of Russia.

On the contrary, our communications with that power have been from the beginning of a war-like nature.—The *treaty of Concert*, 11th April, 1805, the first result of our negotiations,

is framed for the purpose of marching half a million of men against France, in the pay of England, (Art. III*.) That a mediator of differences should be in a respectable state of strength, in order to interpose with effect, is not denied; but no power can assume the functions of an umpire after forming such a concert with one of the contending parties. It deserves further to be remarked, that the pacific inclinations expressed in his Majesty's answer to the French message, appear never to have produced any effect on our negotiations. The Cabinets of Vienna and St. Petersburg were engaged in the correspondence which gave rise to the war, as far back as November, 1804. The British government was a party to this intercourse at the same time. The French message was communicated during these negotiations, and no circumstance appears either in the official documents, or in the conduct of the parties, tending to shew that this pacific proposal produced any effect

* Treaties, p. 9. † Supplementary Papers, p. 4.

upon the progress of an intercourse avowedly hostile to France.

But it may be said that the seizure of Genoa rendered it impossible for Russia to mediate, or hold any amicable correspondence with France. To this various answers are obvious. The Russian mediation was first thought of long after the invasion of Switzerland—a violation of the treaty of Luneville infinitely more important to the interest of all parties, than the annexation of Genoa. The incorporation of Piedmont, without any indemnity to the king of Sardinia, was made in express violation of the same treaty, and in contempt of specific engagements with Russia herself: yet this neither prevented Russia from offering her mediation, nor our government from pledging themselves to accept it. But, in truth, it is absurd to lay any stress upon the seizure of Genoa, when the first article of the treaty of Concert, concluded two months before that event, bound Russia and England to league against France in measures of hostility, “without waiting for further encroach-

ments on the part of the French government*."

Long before the seizure of Genoa, then, we had given up every chance of Russian mediation, by our hostile league with the court of St. Petersburg; and that event was viewed with exultation by the friends of the new war, as an additional means of rousing Austria and Russia to join us—not with regret as an obstacle to the work of pacification, which we had pledged ourselves to undertake. Even after our allies had placed themselves in a commanding posture of military preparation, and were fully disposed to embrace whatever plan might be most effectual for restraining the encroachments of France, no attempt was made to avail ourselves of so favourable a juncture, for effecting that object in the manner pointed out in 1803, by the united voice of parliament. Our government seems only to have been anxious that there should be a battle, and impatient but to see the fighting begin. This leads us to

the next remark suggested by the history of the late coalition.

2. The league appears to have had no precise or definite object in view. To attack France, and try the issue, is the only fixed point of concert. How far the allies were prepared, in the event of their success, to propose such an arrangement as might secure the future independence of Europe, may be determined by a consideration of the purposes for which they avow that the league was formed. These are stated in Art. II. of the treaty of Concert*. We shall begin with the independence of Holland.

By the treaty of Luneville, the independence of Holland was guaranteed, and at the peace of Amiens France pledged herself to withdraw all her troops from the Dutch territories. It is of little moment to inquire by what circumstances the fulfilment of these stipulations was retarded. The war between France and England finally prevented them from taking effect; but France has repeatedly

* Treaties, p. 9.

declared her readiness to evacuate Holland as soon as the other points in dispute should be settled. Suppose the new confederates were successful in the war, and demanded a renewal of the stipulations respecting Holland. France withdraws her troops from that country during the peace which ensues—during the period when it is not her interest to keep troops there. But as soon as a new war breaks out—as soon as the occupation of Holland is of the smallest importance to France, or detriment to us, has she not the means of again overrunning the Dutch territories in a week? The whole of Flanders, from Ostend to Antwerp, from Antwerp to Wesel, is her's. No barrier remains between the enormous mass of the French dominions, and the little, insulated, defenceless province of Holland. The strongest part of her frontier, the triple line of fortresses which surround France on the north, is opposed to the weakest side of the Dutch territories. Long before the guaranties of Batavian independence could possibly send a man to the Rhine, the

French would take Amsterdam, and keep the country as easily as they can defend the rest of their provinces. The Hollanders of this age are no longer the men who inundated their fields to defend their liberty. France has a party in the councils, and in the nation of the republic, and nothing could be more chimerical than to hope that she would meet with any resistance from the unaided patriotism and resources of this state.

When, therefore, the new alliance professes to have in view the establishment of the Dutch independence, one of two things must be meant: either that nominal independence which consists in the removal of French troops, and which was guaranteed in the treaty of Luneville—or that real independence which consists in security from French influence during peace, and invasion during war; which was obtained for the Dutch by their own spirit, and the assistance of their allies at the beginning of the eighteenth century; which they only lost by the conquest of Belgium. To make war for the first of these

objects was evidently most unwise : it was attained by the treaties of Luneville and Amiens, and, when attained, was perfectly useless. To make war for the second object was quite absurd, unless those other measures were in contemplation, which alone could secure it ; and the treaty of Concert gives us no hint whatever of any such measures. We are, therefore, left to conclude that the allied powers wished to see Holland once more independent, but did not know how to gratify this desire ; that they had a general design of freeing the Dutch from French influence, but could discover no means of doing so ; that, therefore, they resolved to attack France, but, if successful, they were not prepared with any specific demands in favour of Holland. In so far then as the interests of Holland were concerned, the purpose of the allies was perfectly vague and indefinite ; it was merely the purpose of beginning to fight, trying their fortune, and afterwards finding out what they wanted.

Nearly the same observations apply to

the independence of Switzerland, which is stated as another object of the coalition. At the peace of Luneville, France was left in possession of the bishopric of Bale, the Frickthal, Savoy, and the territory of Geneva. The two first of these possessions give her a complete command of the passes of Havenstein, and consequently of the entrance into the plain of Switzerland from the north ; while the acquisition of Savoy and Geneva throws open a passage on the south. With such advantages, it might be difficult for the Swiss themselves to prevent the return of the French troops at any time. But all plans for the independence of that country must evidently be futile, which do not originate in a firm union with the inhabitants, and no such union could well be hoped for under the constitution established by the interference of France. The league for making Switzerland independent, however, specifies no plan by which such an object is to be accomplished. The allies seem to have thought, that after France should be conquered, they would have time to dis-

cover how Switzerland might be made free, and to settle whether Savoy was to be separated from France, or the Frickthal given back to Austria, or Geneva restored to independence.

The re-establishment of the King of Sardinia, in Piedmont, is another object of the coalition. This must strike every one as a strange proposition to come from the court of St. Petersburg; the court, which after pledging itself to obtain an indemnity for his Sardinian Majesty, carried through the whole business of the German indemnities in active concert with France, and suffered the scene to be closed without any mention of that Prince's name; the court which began in league with France, to parcel out Germany among its dependants, immediately after Piedmont had been seized by France, in violation of her pledge to Russia. No less singular is it to observe, that the prime mover of this claim in the King of Sardinia's favour is England, which gave him up without a struggle at the peace of Amiens;

and then witnessed unmoved, the partition of Germany. But the singularity of the interest displayed for Piedmont is complete, when we find that the third party in the league is Austria, who now comes forward in concert with the cabinets of St. Petersburg and London, to avenge the King of Sardinia's cause against France, when a few months before she had been dragooned into the spoliation of Germany, by that very France, with the assistance of one of those cabinets and the connivance of the other. It is easy to perceive how little credit all those parties are likely to get with the rest of the world, either for their honesty or their wisdom—for their disinterested zeal in behalf of Piedmont, or their systematic views of the general policy of Europe.

Moreover, it would be difficult to imagine any less determinate or specific scheme than that of a war, for the re-establishment of the Sardinian family on the continent, "with as large an augmentation of territory, as circumstances will

permit *." While Savoy belongs to France, while the Italian republic is subject to her sovereign, and the Ligurian territory is at least controuled by her influence; the mere restoration of dominion provides no security against the sudden resumption of that province as soon as France may find it convenient. This object, therefore, is as vague and indefinite as the general plan of rendering Holland independent, while Belgium and the left Bank of the Rhine belong to France.

The bare statement of the next proposed object is sufficient to shew that it belongs to the same class—"the future security of the kingdom of Naples." There is apparently something less vague in "the evacuation of Italy by the French forces." But if by Italy is meant Naples and the states of the church, the treaty of Amiens bound France to withdraw her troops from thence; she had entered into the same engagement with his Sicilian Majesty, and had stipulated with Russia, in general, to respect

* Treat. p. 9. Art. II. Letter C.

the independence of Naples. These obligations were fulfilled by France immediately after the peace of Amiens, and until the commencement of the present war she had no troops in the Sicilian territory. When, however, she found it convenient to occupy it again, no obstacle was thrown in her way: So slender is the "security" which Naples can derive, from France complying with such demands as the allies had proposed to make after a successful war! But, if by the evacuation of Italy, the allies meant the recall of French troops from the Italian republic, we may observe, that this was a most futile object of war. The whole Cisalpine territory is substantially a province of France; whether she rules it by French or by Italian troops. Subject to her sovereign; governed by the constitution which she has imposed; administered either by her emissaries or her creatures—that province, even if entirely freed from French armies, would continue under the influence of France, acknowledge her alliance, and receive her troops as soon as hostilities were renewed. So

nugatory is it to propose, as the object of an offensive league, the single, unsupported, ineffectual measure of recalling the French army from the Cisalpine.

The last object of the allies, is only in appearance, more vague than those already considered. “The establishment of an order of things in Europe which may effectually guarantee its security and independence.” Here, as in the former cases, we are left to guess at the particulars, and have no means of discovering how the general end in view is to be attained by the concerted plan of hostilities. This is the character of all the branches of the scheme, except only one, “the evacuation of Hanover,”—an object in itself so trifling, as not to merit consideration, among projects for the liberation of the world; and placed, it should seem, at the head of these plans, rather in compliment to one of the contracting parties, than from its value in the eyes of the rest.

A league, then, of unparalleled expense and vast risk is concerted, without any precise object but that of beginning a war;

without any view more specific than a vague desire of curbing the power of France; without a plan more comprehensive than that of freeing from momentary oppression, a few detached parts of the French dependencies; with no preconcerted scheme for securing their independence, or for carrying into effect the general wish that has been formed to check French usurpation.—But, it may be asked, is the situation of Europe so hopeless that no means can be devised for accomplishing the grand objects which we have been rapidly surveying? Must Holland be united in fate with Belgium, and the Cisalpine decide the destinies of the south?—The consideration of these matters belongs to a future stage of this inquiry. At present, it is enough to have shewn that those objects bear no relation to the mere act of commencing a hostile coalition; that the fortune of war might drive the French troops out of Holland and Naples, without rendering those states less dependent on France; that the emancipation of Europe could only be obtained from a war of this

description, in the most improbable event of its leading to the entire conquest of France ; and that the choice of instant hostilities, without giving any reasonable prospect of success, in prosecuting the general scheme, precluded all chance of paving the way to better times, by a gradual and peaceable arrangement. The only specific object of the coalition, then, was to make war upon France, and try the event. Let us next inquire, whether this object was prosecuted with such a degree of wisdom, as bestowed any title to expect that the event would be prosperous.

3. In order to attack France with a fair prospect of success, it was indispensably necessary, that the different states of the continent should feel how much their real interests required a diminution of the French power ; that their subjects should feel how much the cause was their own ; that all Europe should feel how entirely England interfered for the general good, and not for the purpose of buying an attack upon France. By our interference, indeed, it was possible that the moment of their recal to a true sense of policy and

duty, might be somewhat accelerated. But no salutary or lasting conversion could reasonably be expected from such a sudden change as our intreaties or subsidies might work, before the natural course of events had prepared them for adopting a new line of conduct. During the whole of 1802, Russia was not only blind to the encroachments of France, she was actively assisting them; she was leagued with that power in the new partition of Germany, which has been called the "Settlement of Indemnities"—in other words: France having despoiled several powerful princes of their dominions, was now pacifying them with the territories of several weaker states; and Russia, by a cordial support, enabled her to accomplish what the Germanic body in general viewed as an unparalleled violation of justice. In the same operation, Prussia, who had lost nothing, was an active coadjutor; and these three great powers were thus, so late as the middle of 1803, leagued together, for the purpose of aggrandizing themselves or their dependants at the expense, partly of Austria and her allies—partly of other powers, who had

been spectators of a contest, in which their weakness prevented them from engaging. This most unpromising state of things continued during almost the whole of 1803, and until a coolness began to arise between Russia and France ; not on any solid grounds ; not because France had made new encroachments—but rather from certain trifling and personal motives. Our clear policy was to have improved this change ; confirmed the alienation of Russia ; and attempted slowly to heal the wounds which her late conduct had an evident tendency to inflict on Austria. But to push hastily at any active measures—to hurry on an intimate union of two powers, lately in a state almost hostile ; or even to engage Russia suddenly to exchange her alliance with France, for an open rupture, was in every view the height of rashness and impolicy. Far from pressing Russia towards so premature a conduct, it was our interest to have restrained her until both her own time and the time of Austria was come ; and, instead of rejoicing, that the seizure of Genoa gave both those powers a new desire to resist

the French encroachments, it was our business to curb their sudden resentment, until it could be displayed with effect; and to retard the moment of their attack upon France, until their mutual relations were cemented and their resources were ripe for so dreadful a contest.

Let us consider whether this has been our policy. The documents laid before parliament, defective as they are in various particulars, furnish a most imperfect history of the late alliance; but they contain evidence quite sufficient to convict us of having adopted and persisted in a line of conduct, the very reverse of that which has just now been sketched.

In November 1804 * the negotiations between Austria and Russia were going on with a view to an offensive alliance. England must therefore have begun her operations at St. Petersburg long before that period, probably before the end of 1803, or immediately after the union between France and Russia was relaxed. At any rate, it is certain that an alliance be-

* Sir Arthur Paget's Dispatch, Sup. Pap. p. 4.

tween this country and Russia existed as early as July 1804, and was the subject of common conversation during the course of that month. The British cabinet, therefore, took advantage of the very first coolness that appeared between France and Russia, (chiefly on account of the Duc d'Enghien's death) to offer subsidies and precipitate Russia towards a war. A subsidiary treaty was concluded with Sweden also, at the beginning of December 1804.

But, without the assistance of either Prussia or Austria, it was obviously in vain to think of a continental war. Perhaps it was foolish to think of succeeding in such a scheme, without the co-operation of both those great powers. Was it wise, then, to begin by engaging Russia and Sweden as principals, and trusting to chance for obtaining as accessories, those who ought to have been the principals? It was for Austria that the struggle was to be made, and by her exertions alone that it could succeed. Her resources were to bear the shock of the war, and her existence was staked upon its issue. Yet we do not apply to Austria, but to Russia, or rather

we first apply to Austria—we find she is not ready, or not willing to begin the war for her own interests; and therefore we go to Sweden and Russia, who happen at the time to be in ill-humour with France. This was surely not the best way of securing the cordial union of Austria.

We have already noticed the terms upon which Austria and Russia were at the beginning of the Year 1803; but the jealousy which had subsisted from the affairs of Switzerland in the last war, and which the business of the indemnities inflamed, received its last aggravation in May, 1804, from the promulgation of the secret convention, Oct. 1801, between France and Russia. Austria now saw a neighbour whose ambition she suspected, and whose power she dreaded, acting in conjunction with her natural enemy, as the sole arbiter of the south of Europe; taking upon herself the guarantee of Naples, Sardinia, and Rome; and stipulating for the general arrangement of the balance of Italy. Excluded by the successes of her enemy from all territorial power beyond

the Adige, she now saw herself cut out from all concern in Italian affairs, by the interference of her former ally. In the temper of mind which such a discovery was calculated to produce, she found that Russia and France were involved in a sudden quarrel. She plainly evinced her good dispositions towards the latter, by immediately acknowledging the Chief Consul's new title, which Russia and Sweden peremptorily refused; and she took this occasion of assuming a similar dignity to herself, against which Russia and Sweden protested*—And this was the moment chosen by the British cabinet for applying to Russia as the arbiter, the saviour of Europe; and to Sweden as the other great champion of the same cause! Surely, if any principle in practical policy ever deserved the name of self-evident, it is this, that our interest was by all means to avoid

* See Talleyrand's and D'Oubril's notes of May 16, July 21, and August 28, 1804.—Imperial and Swedish notes to the Diet, August 24—26, 1804.

whatever might give umbrage to Austria ; to court her most, who must always be our best ally ; and if we could not effect a cordial reconciliation between her and Russia, at least to beware of taking such a part with the latter, as must involve us in the consequences of the disunion *.

Having, however, made common cause with Russia, our next object was to obtain, at any rate, the accession of Austria. Nor can there be a doubt, that we availed ourselves partly of the formidable influence of Russia—partly of our subsidies—partly of fallacious representations of our own strength, and the dispositions of Russia ; to force the cabinet of Vienna prematurely into a rupture with France. In order to demonstrate this, we have only to consult the Treaties and Supplementary Papers. By the first separate article of

* In the foregoing argument, it is not intended so much to state *absolutely* the sentiments of England, with regard to Russia, whose late conduct has been so pure and magnanimous, as to describe the feelings of Austria, and the deference which those feelings might have been expected to meet with from England.

the Treaty of Concert, England agrees with Russia to subsidize Austria, provided she shall take the field against France in four months*. This is a public article, and intended for the inspection of Austria. But there is a *secret* article† added, by which England engages not to refuse the benefits of the treaty to Austria, if she shall take the field during any part of 1805. This article was intended only to be used, if the threat contained in the former one should fail in bringing Austria forward. The two articles are of the same date.—Further, Lord G. L. Gower, in a dispatch dated Sept. 3, expresses his hopes that the Austrian cabinet “*may be induced not to wait the issue of the proposed negotiations with France ‡,*” but to commence hostilities immediately. His hopes are founded on “the last dispatch from the Russian minister at Vienna;” where it appears, therefore, that war had not been resolved upon in the last week of

* Treaties, p. 11.

† Treaties, p. 20.

‡ Supp. Pap. p. 16.

August. Yet, at the very same time, the march of the Russian armies towards the frontiers of Austria and Prussia, was formally announced to the Austrian cabinet* ; and as far back as July 16th, official notice was given that Russia intended to put her forces in motion by the middle of August †. It is clear, therefore, that Russia was determined to act offensively, whatever Austria might resolve upon ; and that this determination was used to quicken the cabinet of Vienna. Accordingly we find, in the very able Paper of Austria, entitled, “ *Plan of Operations ‡*,” the most decisive proofs of her unwillingness to come forward. A general view is taken of the relative situations of France and Austria, and the inference is drawn, “ that the maintenance of *peace* till a *more favourable juncture* shall arise, seems to be *infinitely desirable*.” The answer of Russia, which is indeed a paper

* Supp. Pap. p. 6, 16.

† Supp. Pap. p. 40.

‡ Supp. Pap. p. 21.

of very inferior ability, combats those positions ; affects to view the situation of Austria as much more prosperous ; denies that any more favourable juncture can arise ; and concludes that Austria, “ assured of the assistance of Russia and England, should not hesitate to renew the war as speedily as possible *.” In enumerating the inducements held out to Austria, the cabinet of St. Petersburg does not fail to notice “ the immense sums of money which England is ready to sacrifice,” and the “ powerful diversions which she will operate in Holland, Flanders, and Germany, perhaps even the regular invasion of France by her troops †.” And that Austria did listen to such hopes, we learn from her own minister at London, who mentions the delay of England to attack France in the North, as the first cause of the subsequent disasters ‡.

Such then was the unwillingness of Au-

* Supp. Pap. p. 30.

† Ibid. p. 29 & 30.

‡ Ibid. p. 51 & 52.

stria, and such the means employed to bring her into the late ruinous contest. —And truly when we reflect on the exhausted state in which the last war had left her; when we consider the loss of her ancient provinces, best situated for offensive operations, and the various difficulties which opposed themselves to any attempt at calling forth the resources of her new acquisitions; when we survey her finances, involved in unexampled embarrassment, and her cumbrous administration, checking in every quarter the development of her natural strength; when, above all, we think of the universal dread of a new war, which prevailed through every rank of her people, dispirited by a recollection of the last, and impressed with a firm belief in the ascendant of France; when, to all this, we oppose the signal advantages of her enemy in every particular;—a compact and powerful territory, impregnable to attack, and commanding its neighbours from the excellence of its offensive positions; an army inured to

war, and to constant victory ; an armed people intoxicated with natural vanity, and the recollection of unparalleled triumphs ; a government, uniting the vigour of military despotism with the energies of a new dynasty ; an administration, commanding in its service all the talents of the state ; finances, unburthened by the debts of old monarchies, and unfettered by the good faith of wiser rulers ; finally, a military expedition of vast magnitude, at the very moment prepared, and applicable to any destination which the change of circumstances might require—when we contrast these mighty resources with the remnant of her strength which Austria had to meet them, we shall marvel but little at her backwardness to seize the present juncture for beginning a war, which, if unprosperous, must be her last. In a prudent delay she saw that every advantage might be expected,—an improvement of her domestic œconomy ; a gradual amelioration of her political constitution ; the correction of those evils in her military

system, which had formerly proved fatal; the change of conduct towards her frontier provinces, which the experience of last war prescribed; the progress of her rich dominions, and numerous and various population in civility and wealth; the confirmation and extension of her foreign alliances. On the other hand, most of the enemy's advantages were likely to be impaired by delay; many of them were peculiar to the present crisis; almost all of them were of a temporary nature. The pursuits of commerce might temper his warlike and turbulent spirit; the formidable energy of a new government might yield to the corruption which time never fails to engender; and though kept quite pure, could not but relax during the interval of quiet; the constitution was likely to become either more despotic and weaker for offensive measures, or more popular and less inclined to adopt them; for a nation always becomes a wiser and better neighbour in proportion as its affairs are influenced by the voice of the commu-

nity: The arts of peace must modify that system of military conscription which made every Frenchman a warrior: The remembrance of recent victories would gradually wear away, both in the army and the nation: Allies might desert from better views of their interest; dependant states might throw off the yoke, when they recovered from the panic that made them bend to it; neutral powers might be roused to a just sense of their duty, when a successful resistance seemed practicable, and the re-establishment of the Austrian affairs furnished a center round which to rally: The army destined to invade England would probably fail in the attempt, or at any rate might be occupied in making it: Factions were more likely to disturb the vigour of the government when the continent was at peace; nay, the chance was worth considering, which every delay gave, of some sinister accident befalling the chief, whose destinies involved those of France herself, and whose power had not yet received its last conso-

lidation.—Every thing then rendered a delay as hurtful to the enemy as it was desirable to Austria, and her allies. If France had been called upon to chuse the juncture of her affairs, at which a new continental league should be formed against her, not only with safety, but with eminent advantage to her interests, she would have chosen the year 1804 ; that the operations of this league, after it had once been formed, should be delayed till the latter part of the year, she could scarcely have dared to hope. If Austria had been desired to name the crisis at which her present necessities, as well as the prospects of bettering her condition, most clearly enjoined an adherence to peace, she must have been blind, indeed, not to fix upon the same period ; and, if she had shut her eyes to her most obvious interests, it would have been the best policy of her allies to undeceive her, and chiefly of England, who had no stay on the continent but Austria. But the blindness was our's; Austria was alive to her true interests, as

she knew her real situation; and we unhappily prevailed upon her to seek certain ruin, by partaking of our infatuation.

4. We now come to examine with what prospects of assistance from Prussia the late attempt to deliver the continent was undertaken. Upon this part of the subject several principles are self-evident. It is manifest that every effort should have been made, and even any reasonable sacrifice offered, for the prospect of so inestimable an advantage, as the accession of Prussia to the league. Without her co-operation, every chance of ultimate success was against the allies; with her aid it was scarcely possible their scheme could altogether fail. If she persisted in adhering to her neutrality, this was at least an additional reason for the delay which so many other circumstances concurred to recommend. But, at any rate, it was the consummation of headlong impatience to hurry on the execution of the enterprize, before time was given to obtain a definitive answer from Prussia, whe

ther favourable or adverse to the views of the league. What shall we say, then, if it appears, that, far from waiting until Prussia had become favourably disposed, the allies did not even suspend their measures until she had given a positive answer ; that far from waiting to ascertain whether Prussia meant to join them, or remain neutral, they rushed into the war before they knew whether she was to remain neutral, or to take part with France !—The documents laid before parliament, defective in every branch of the details, are peculiarly so upon this important subject ; but they contain, nevertheless, sufficient evidence of the foregoing propositions, especially when coupled with the official communications of the continental powers.

In September, 1804, Prussia declared to Sweden her resolution to remain neutral, and in December she heard of the subsidiary treaty between Sweden and England. A notice was immediately given by the court of Berlin, that the king of Prussia was determined to protect the neutrality

of the north, and his Swedish majesty was warned against adopting offensive operations against France*. At the beginning of 1805, therefore, the allies had no reason to expect much from the side of Prussia; but this transaction neither prevented England from indulging in hopes of success at Berlin, nor from hurrying on measures at St. Petersburg and Vienna, as if there was no chance of failure.

In the "Plan of Operations" proposed by Austria, we find mention made of "a great and important step which the Emperor of Russia has taken at the court of Berlin," from the result of which "the allies are to learn how far they may reckon upon the co-operation or neutrality of Prussia†." Neither the nature nor the success of this step is disclosed; but that the allies, while combining their military plans, were ignorant of Russia's determination, is proved both by the foregoing passage, and by the following particulars—

* See Count Hardenberg's note, Dec. 24, 1804.

† Sup. Papers, p. 25.

In the Russian answer to the paper just now cited, it is stated that Austria, being assured of Russia, “ will not be under *any great necessity* of maintaining a force to *observe Prussia**.” Here then is a considerable doubt expressed as to the intentions of Prussia, and all hopes of her co-operation seem to have vanished. But soon after, the uncertainty increases, and a hope of assistance is changed, first into fear, least she should oppose—and next into an expectation of her hostility.

In the protocol of the conferences held between the Austrian and Russian generals, July 16, 1805 for the purpose of arranging the military operations of the allies, we find an express agreement, that the second and third Russian armies shall be “ employed on the frontiers of Prussia, for the purpose of making *demonstrations against her* †.” And in the treaty of Concert between Russia and England, there is an article (VIII. Separate Art. †)

* Sup. Papers, p. 30.

† Sup. Papers, p. 42.

‡ Treaties, p. 17.

binding the parties to make common cause against any state (meaning Prussia) "which may, either by employing its forces, or by *too intimate a union* with France, pretend to raise obstacles to the measures of the league."

Thus we find that the scheme was entered upon with the prospect of resistance from Prussia; that this was, however, not ascertained, but that the measures were nevertheless pushed forward; and that, when the details of the plan came to be settled before taking the field, the first service required of the allied powers was found to be "making demonstrations against Prussia;" either to induce her to join the league, or to prevent her from opposing it. Nor were these calculations, however indefinite, altogether unfounded; for it appears that, when the combined armies took the field, they were kept in check by Prussia a whole month.

Count Stahremberg, the Austrian minister, in a note upon the causes of the defeats in Swabia, and the capture of Vienna,

ascribes these melancholy events in a great measure to "the advance of the second Russian army being retarded more than a month, by the first armaments which the cabinet of Berlin threatened to oppose to those of the court of St. Petersburg*." It was not then till the second week in October, and after the disasters of the allies had begun, that they knew any thing certain respecting the dispositions of Prussia.

The accidental circumstance of the violation of Anspach, which no one could have foreseen, first determined Prussia not to attack the members of the league. Before that moment, they had reason to fear that she would not even be neutral, and they planned their defensive measures accordingly. But through the whole of their negotiations and arrangements they pressed forward in the dark. Far from delaying their attack till they had disposed Prussia to join them, they began it with

* Sup. Papers, p. 52.

the prospect of her hostility, though, even of that prospect, they did not take time to be fully ascertained.

The conduct of Prussia suggests two important observations upon the proceedings of the allies. In the *first* place it appears that her warlike preparations kept the Russian armies in check for more than a month. Before the beginning of September, therefore, the allies were convinced that, instead of her assistance, they had rather to reckon upon her hostility. Admitting that this important point was not ascertained before the Russian army began their march, it was at least established before the first movements of Austria, and before her rupture with France was irrevocably declared; for the court of Vienna continued to hold a pacific language to the French government in its declaration of the third of September, and its armies did not cross the Inn till the seventh*. It is manifest,

* See Second declaration of the court of Vienna—
“The court of Vienna has no other motive than that

therefore, that war was not inevitable for some time after the hostile views of the cabinet of Berlin were apparent, and that even the hasty steps which had been taken by the allies might still have led to no fatal consequences, if they had paused as soon as the unfavourable dispositions of Prussia were displayed. To all the measures of rashness and imprudence, however, which marked this unhappy confederacy from the beginning, the fatal error was now added, of throwing away the last chance of accommodation, when new obstacles to the success of the war daily arose ; of finally breaking the peace, at the very crisis when the hostility of Prussia rendered the war utterly hopeless.

But, in the *next* place, when the sentiments of the court of Berlin received a sudden change, from the violation of

of maintaining peace and friendship with France, and securing the general tranquillity of the Continent."—Also Proclamation, Sept. 21, 1805, of the Archduke Charles to the army in Italy.

Anspach, and when they became, upon the whole, unfavourable to France, if not favourable to the coalition, it seems wonderful that no attempt should have been made by England to avail herself of this happy revolution ;—not indeed for the vain purpose of inducing Prussia to join the league, which the very day before she had been prepared to oppose—but in order to use her new enmity towards France as a means of regaining the ground which the allies had lost by their rashness, and of submitting the whole dispute to Prussian mediation, before it went further, at a time when France would have listened to whatever came from Berlin ; while the forces of Austria were not irreparably injured, and the armies of Russia were still unimpaired. It never could be expected that Prussia would at once take the field, how much soever her dispositions might have been suddenly improved. Before she could prepare either her resolution or her forces, the French were sure to push their successes against the Austrians the more

strenuously that they had a prospect of opposition from a new quarter. . Nothing, therefore, was more obvious than the policy of obtaining some delay at least, if not a safe retreat from our dangerous position, through the sudden good wishes of Prussia. But the same blind zeal for mere fighting prevailed, which had led to the occupation of Bavaria. The allies continued in the field without any attempt to attain what alone could save them; and England intoxicated with the chimerical hope, that the events of one day would root out the policy which had been growing up at Berlin for twelve long years of various fortune, anxiously urged on the work she had begun, and counted upon Prussia as a sure resource.

It is indeed highly probable that the ancient jealousies of Austria and Prussia, awakened by the late transaction of the indemnities, opposed obstacles to any cordial union, even at this crisis of affairs, and might have prevented the measure of attempting an accommodation with France through Prussia,

which circumstances now suggested. But this rivalry formed no part of our estimate when we entered upon the war. No steps had been taken, indeed no time had been allowed, for any attempt to overcome it; and we have ourselves only to blame, if untoward circumstances, overlooked by our blind impatience to see the continent in arms, have eventually frustrated the calculations into which they did not enter: We have ourselves only to blame, if we formed a league which could not succeed without the cordial union of powers divided by long hatred and recent quarrels; hurried the allies into critical situations, where perfect unanimity alone could save them; and gave no time for those measures of conciliation, without which it was vain to expect even the semblance of cordiality*.

* It is inconsistent with the plan of this inquiry to cite any authorities which are not official; but a very extraordinary tract has lately been published by Mr. Gentz, which, from particular circumstances, deserves to be noticed. Its inferiority to all this gentleman's other writings is so striking, that nothing but the uncontradicted avowal of his name on the title page could have induced any one to think it the production of his pen.

5. Having now traced the fatal impolicy which gave rise to the late alliance, and precipitated the confederates into the war, we shall direct our attention to the particular errors that accompanied the operations of the league. Of these the most remarkable, and the most extensive in its effects, is a strange want of concert which appears from the commencement between the two principal parties—England and Austria: England the prime mover and soul of the union, and Austria its main support.

Among other singular assertions, it contains one which requires either a contradiction or acknowledgment by the members of the late cabinet—that a treaty was concluded between Russia and Prussia before last December. No such treaty has been mentioned in the papers laid before parliament; yet surely a full statement of its contents would have been much more decorous, than such an allusion to it as Mr. Gëntz here makes. He adds, that he is placed in situations which enable him to “see into the secret movements of the different political springs, of which the events we now witness are the visible results”—p. 28. Now as his place of *counsellor at war* is merely nominal, (however creditable the title may be,) and as he is not in the confidence of the Austrian court, it is difficult to imagine what situation he can fill, except he may have enjoyed the confidence of the English cabinet. If he did—if a foreigner was admitted to this confidence, there is room for inquiry; and if a confidential agent has told the secret of a Prussian treaty, why is that still withheld from parliament?

It cannot fail to strike any one who peruses the documents laid before parliament, that throughout the whole of the late negotiations, Austria has kept herself studiously aloof from any direct intercourse with this country; until the moment that a subsidy is to be given, no communication exists between the two powers. We have treaties with Russia and with Sweden, but not one with Austria. Whatever comes from Vienna, comes through St. Petersburg. Our correspondence with Austria is carried on by means of our Russian alliance; our relations with the emperor, the ancient ally of England, and the main-stay of her continental influence, shrunk into a sort of appendage to our concert with the Northern Powers—the inventors of the armed neutrality, the executors of the German indemnities, and the recent confederates of France. In order to be satisfied of the extent to which our alienation from Austria has proceeded, it is necessary to examine the whole of the treaties and dispatches that have been

made public. But we shall mention a few of the most remarkable proofs, as a clue to the more ample investigation of this alarming topic.

The uniform anxiety of Austria to appear wholly unconnected with England, is one of the most singular features in the conduct of the late continental alliance. By an article* added to the Treaty of Concert it is stipulated by Russia on the part of Austria, that in case those two powers should, at the opening of the campaign, disavow their connexion with England, yet as soon as the war is fairly begun, they shall acknowledge the connexion. Thus the appearance of a concert with England, was so odious on the Continent at the time which we chose for stirring up the new coalition, that our confederates stipulate for permission to begin their operations by asserting a direct falsehood in order to conceal it. Further, when England agrees to subsidize

* July 24, 1805. Treat. p. 24.

Austria, in case she shall come forward within a certain time, the stipulation is made, not with the court of Vienna—not in consequence of the relations subsisting between that court and the cabinet of St. James's—but with the court of St. Petersburg, and “in consequence of engagements subsisting between Austria and Russia*.” In the same spirit is the settlement of the plan of operations between Austria and Russia, by diplomatic correspondence, and conferences of military counsellors; from all which England is carefully excluded; nor, indeed, is she once mentioned in the course of them, except at the moment when subsidies are to be considered, and then some notice is taken of her†. This anxiety to appear unconnected with England, is so remarkable in the whole conduct of Austria, that even in the proclamation after the capture of Vienna, when the emperor is

* Treaty of Concert. Sep. Art. Treat. p. 11.

† Treat. p. 32. Sup. Pap. p. 39, et seq.

encouraging his people with a view of the hopes which still remain, he enumerates "the great and unexhausted resources which he finds in the forces of his high allies and friends, the emperor of Russia, and the king of Prussia," and makes no allusion whatever to England, the main spring of the war*.

But the anxiety to avoid the reality of such a concert as well as the appearance of it, until the moment that subsidies were required, is strikingly illustrated by the total exclusion of the English minister at Vienna, from all share in the negotiations carried on with the Russian minister at the same court: and so wonderfully well were the cabinet of London gained over to second this plan, that they seem to have kept their envoy in utter ignorance of what was going on both at St. Petersburg and Vienna, until every Gazette writer in Europe was acquainted with the whole business. This forms so singular and so instructive

* Declaration of Brunn, Nov. 13, 1805.

a feature in the late negotiations, that we must refer more particularly to the parts of the papers which illustrate it. It appears from the dispatches of Sir A. Paget, (June 5, June 22, July 6, and August 3, 1804*) that he was endeavouring all along to discover the views of the Austrian cabinet, as well as he could by his own observation, and his conferences with Count Cobenzel. In his dispatch of August 20†, he informs our government that he has at length been put in possession by Count Cobenzel, of the negotiations carried on between Russia and Austria during the last ten months; and that about the same time, the same secret was communicated to him by Lord G. L. Gower. The reason of his being at length intrusted with the transaction speedily appears: the court of Vienna conceive that it will be more convenient to treat directly through him about the amount of the

* Sup. Pap. p. 1, 2, & 3.

† Ibid. p. 4.

subsidies*. In his dispatch of September 5, the same envoy states, that he has learnt from *Count Cobenzel*, that he may soon expect a communication relative to the *British plans* respecting Naples†. From the declaration of the Russian cabinet, August 7, it also appears, that the terms upon which England and Austria were to treat had been discussed at Vienna, on the 7th of July, by the ministers of the emperor and the Russian envoy, while the British envoy, though upon the spot, was not even aware that any such intercourse was carrying on‡. But the most singular of all the proofs which these documents afford of this point, is contained in Sir A. Paget's excellent dispatch of October 24, in which he enumerates with distinguished ability, the causes of the failure in Swabia. "In settling the plan of the campaign," says he, "it must have been calculated that previous to the opening of it the Russians

* Sup. Pap. p. 14. † Id. p. 7. ‡ Treat. p. 31 & 32.

would have joined. This, in truth, however false and extraordinary, was the calculation which was made. Upon what it was founded I cannot exactly say *." Now it happens that this calculation never was made; on the contrary, both in the Austrian plan of operations and the Russian answer to it †, the impossibility of the Russians arriving before the campaign should begin, and the necessity of the Austrians sustaining the first attack alone, is explicitly stated. The same admission is made in the calculations of the military conference, held July 16, to discuss the plan of the campaign ‡. Therefore, it is clear, that as late as the 24th of October, our minister at Vienna was utterly ignorant of the military conferences carried on in that capital, upon the measures of the coalition, as far back as the 16th of July, and of the diplomatic correspondence upon the same subject,

* Sup. Pap. p. 12.

† Id. p. 30.

‡ Id. p. 40.

which had passed between the two imperial courts at a still earlier period.

This is a very serious charge either against the British cabinet, or their envoy, or both. When the affairs of the league were discussed at Vienna, the proper person to attend the conference on our part was our envoy, and not the ambassador of Russia. Austria seems, indeed, always disposed to prefer treating with Russia; but our envoy ought at least to have been fully informed of the intercourse that subsisted, especially after Austria consented to hold a direct communication with him. If he was unworthy of such confidence, he was unworthy of his post, and the blame of the cabinet, which kept him on so important a station during so critical a juncture, is aggravated tenfold. If he had from any cause become disagreeable to the court where he was sent to reside, he was not the person to represent the mover of the new league in the councils of the chief confederate; and the English cabinet instead of retaining him

at such a post, to the extreme detriment of the common cause, should have replaced him by a person against whom similar objections did not exist. But we are far from suspecting that this was the case: It remains then, for the cabinet who superintended this strange negotiation, to explain the reason of their unwillingness to confide in their own agent, and the aversion of the Austrian cabinet to communicate with him.

When we survey the whole machinery then, by which the grand coalition was to be moved and regulated, we discover nothing but weakness and confusion—a total want of strength in the materials; of skill in the arrangement of the parts; of harmony in their movements. England, the main-spring of the union, is not suffered to communicate directly with Austria the great moving power; while the intercourse with such a petty member of the system as Sweden, is constant and intimate. Russia, calculated by nature to operate as a grand auxiliary to Austria,

is first made the centre of the movement, and then the balance and director. The instruments of communication employed by England, are either distrusted by herself or by her allies, with whom they are nevertheless stationed to the exclusion of fitter instruments, and the increased derangement of the machine. But above all, though England furnishes the sinews of the war, and originates the whole operation, she is not allowed a single voice in directing or controuling it; she is excluded from all influence over the operation after it is once resolved upon; studiously repressed at all times, except when the wheels cannot move without her assistance, and even then only permitted to interfere with her services, and compelled to abstain from advice.

Now it may probably be stated that the powers of the continent would not coalesce with us on any other terms; that from dislike of our active interference in continental affairs, they refused to involve themselves in a more close connection with

us than the necessitous state of their finances required; that from dread of offending France before the scheme was matured, they would not acknowledge the extent of their intercourse with us; that from these motives they refused to give us any share of influence in arranging the measures of the league, and even declined admitting us to an intimate knowledge of their concerted scheme.—We believe there may be much truth in this statement, and that it will contain a just account of the matter, if to these motives of repugnance, we add a great distrust of our political wisdom in continental affairs; and perhaps some doubts of our good faith, arising from our conduct in former wars. But the existence of these prepossessions against us, is the very reason why this juncture should not have been chosen for a new coalition; and whatever may have been the motives, the repugnance of Austria and Russia to ally themselves with us, was a sufficient argument against pressing the formation of a league. Austria would not give us bet-

ter terms, you say—That is no reason for making a confederacy upon bad terms, but a perfectly good reason for waiting till better can be obtained. There was no absolute necessity for making war on France in the summer of 1805. It is to be hoped we were not in such fear of invasion, as to buy the short respite of a diversion at any price: There was no pressing occasion, so far at least as the country was concerned, for having a continental campaign finished before the session of parliament began: It is to be hoped that our representatives would have granted supplies without the stimulus of a war in the circle of Austria; and a confidence in the wisdom of government might have kept them in good humour, without the fearful amusement of battles between French and German armies. After we had unwarily begun a new coalition, we might have paused when we found the obstacles to its success so insurmountable. There was no fatality to make us persist in arming the continent, when we perceived that the powers of Germany would neither unite together nor

confide in us. We should have sacrificed nothing but our temerity, and lost nothing but our too sanguine hopes, had we put off the execution of our rash design, when we discovered that Austria would not treat directly with us ; that she durst not avow our friendship, until Russia came up to protect her from the consequences of such an admission ; that the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin, could not be brought to forget Silesia and the Indemnities. It was an ample ground for refusing to complete the league, that the allies would give us no voice in forming the plans of the campaign, or even in arranging the system of the war ; that they for the first time recognised the enemy's favourite policy of excluding us from the continent, and would not hear a whisper from us until the moment when our money was wanted.

But every part of our conduct is marked with the same deplorable impatience which prompted the first step. Having in our rashness resolved to make a league, notwithstanding the unfitness of the times,

the same temerity made us persist in our scheme, in spite of the backwardness and distrust of our allies. We hurried on matters to a new coalition, at a moment when the enemy alone could lose by a delay; and pressed forward the coalition to a new war, when our allies, spiritless and inefficient in themselves, would neither suffer us to participate in the formation, nor in the knowledge of the common schemes. "Make war"—was our cry—"successfully if you can, but make war.—League against France—wisely and cordially if possible, with such a union among yourselves and such solid help from us, as may give some small chance of safety, if not of advantage—but at all events league against France." Thus a coalition and a campaign were the only objects in the contemplation of our government, and they fatally attained their wish; they got up the concert of St. Petersburg, and the invasion of Bavaria. There was a convention and a war, however, which they did not bargain for; the enemy was as rapid in completing the pic-

ture as they had been in preparing the canvas ; the finishing, too, for so hasty a performance, was wonderfully harmonious with the original design—he gave them in a few weeks the conquest of Austria. and the treaty of Presburg.

6. We now proceed to follow the natural development of the errors which presided over the formation of the league, and mingled themselves in its composition. To the total exclusion of England from her just and natural influence in the arrangement of the war, the disasters which followed may in a very great degree be ascribed. We shall enumerate a few of the faults committed by the allies, which our interposition might effectually have prevented, and of which we must share the blame if we could have interfered and did not.

(1.) To some it may perhaps appear extravagant to maintain, that England should have interposed her voice in the nomination of the Austrian generals. Yet it is certain that upon former occasions she

used this privilege, and that she has frequently named the commander of an enterprize to which, besides her subsidies, she contributed in a very limited proportion. How attentively Russia was listened to on this point, we have clear evidence in the "Protocol of conferences." The Russian court expressly refuses to place her troops under the command of any one but an archduke *. There was no risk of England making such a stipulation: on the contrary, had she been allowed to concert upon this important matter, it would have been her duty to enforce the sacrifice of so absurd a condition. Were France to have such a connection with any of her allies as we attempted to form with Austria and Russia; were her interests closely involved with the success of the common operations; were she engaged to give for the troops employed, at the rate of twelve

* Sup. Pap. p. 41. Not meaning the Archduke Charles—but in the case of his being indisposed; providing that none but an Archduke shall succeed him

pounds ten shillings per man yearly, that more than treble the amount of their pay—can we doubt that she would insist upon a voice, in the great question of chusing to whose talents and fortunes, the fate of the enterprise should be committed? The choice of general Mack was in every respect singularly injudicious; from the authority of Sir A. Paget, we learn that he was extremely disagreeable to the archduke. He probably owed his appointment to court intrigue; but the archduke's strong prejudice against him, whether founded upon experience of his character, or upon mere personal dislike, if that illustrious prince can be suspected of such a motive, was an insurmountable objection to his employment. He had formerly been eminently unsuccessful in Italy. Those who served with him in Flanders thought meanly of his talents. That he was a man of military detail, an excellent quarter-master-general they admitted: that he understood his art in theory too, and could combine a good military plan, was not denied. But the

best judges, in our own army, believed him to be devoid of that versatility of genius, which enables a commander to vary his preconcocted schemes with the sudden change of circumstances; they even knew him to be deficient in that presence of mind, which gives a leader the command of his personal resources, under an unexpected turn of affairs; in other words, he was understood to have precisely those defects which most completely disqualified him for opposing the captains of France. This opinion of general Mack was stated by officers of high rank and great respectability in the British army, long before the surrender of Ulm. If our cabinet knew it and neglected it, their culpability was great: but still more have they to answer for, if they were ignorant of what might so easily have been ascertained.

(2.) A grand error was committed by the Austrians in passing the Inn, and carrying the war at once into Bavaria, before the Russians were near to support them. This has been fully exposed in

Sir A. Paget's dispatch of October 24*; and had he been admitted, like the Russian envoy to the conferences at Vienna, we are entitled to presume, that the influence of England would have been exerted to recommend a wiser plan. But it is not merely in this point of view that England should have interfered to modify the plan of the campaign. The violation of the Bavarian neutrality, with the circumstances of injustice affirmed to have attended it, would have called imperiously for the interposition of an ally, who, from her disinterested views, was the proper umpire between those neighbouring powers, and whose pure principles of continental policy were committed by the oppressive measures of her confederates.

The suppression of evidence prevents us from ascertaining the precise extent of the injustice done to Bavaria. The account given by the elector, is in a material degree at variance with that of the Austrian government. The former states his desire to remain neutral, and asserts that

* Sup. Pap. p. 11.

Austria rendered this impossible, by suddenly demanding an incorporation of the Bavarian with the imperial troops ; refusing to hear of any alternative but the immediate dismissal of the whole Bavarian army ; and instantly following up these violent demands with seizing the electoral dominions*.

The emperor, on the other hand, affirms, that his Serene Highness had resolved to join France ; that prompt measures were requisite to prevent this step—and that the Elector behaved with great duplicity while he was maturing his plan†. But it is distinctly admitted by the emperor, that without previously preparing the Elector, or attempting by negotiation to engage him in the league, a requisition was suddenly made of his assistance, and of the junction of his army with the allies. It is proved by a dispatch of Sir A. Paget‡, that the

* Historical representation of the Elector Palatine, Sept. 29, 1805.

† Answer of Austria, Oct. 16.

‡ Sup. Pap. p. 7. The dispatch is dated Sept. 5, before it could possibly be known at Vienna what answer was to be given to the proposals of the Prince.

Emperor sent Prince Swazemberg, September 3, to intimate the march of his army through Bavaria. The Emperor acknowledges* that this prince was the bearer of his first proposal to the court of Munich, where he arrived on the 6th—that the Elector's answer was not given till the 8th, before which time all the arrangements for seizing Bavaria had finally been made.

Now it is manifest that, if the plans of the electoral court were doubtful, or if they leant towards neutrality, as the Elector states, this conduct of Austria was at once impolitic and unjust. But if the politics of that court were so decidedly French, as the Emperor asserts, then the sudden attack of Bavaria was the very worst expedient which could be devised for gaining her over to the alliance, and counteracting the influence acquired by France in the court of Munich, from the affair of the indemnities. In rearing up

* Answer of Austria Oct. 16.

that influence, Prussia had been chiefly instrumental—England had suffered it—Austria had but feebly opposed it. Its effects were likely to be felt for at least fifteen months after its establishment, and the confederates rashly hurry into a new war, where that influence must be highly detrimental, without making any preliminary attempts to counteract it, and before time has been given for its wearing away. At any rate the errors and improprieties of the manner in which Bavaria was attacked, were obvious, and England kept aloof at the moment when her councils or influence might have rectified them.

(3.) The arrangements of the campaign between the Austrian and Russian envoys, as detailed in the Protocol of conferences*, are evidently founded upon the most unaccountable mistakes with respect to the operations of the French troops. The combination proceeds on the supposition, that a Russian army marches nine German

* Sup. Pap. p. 36, et seq.—See particularly p. 46.

miles in four days at an average, or somewhat more than ten English miles a day; and upon the supposition also that a French army will march at the very same rate. It was imagined, then, by those generals, who had so often been opposed to the French, and so constantly been beaten by their rapid movements, that they could march no more than ten English miles a day!—It was conceived that a French army, unincumbered by baggage and heavy artillery, would march through their own territory—through Flanders—the country in the world best adapted to the movement of troops, as slowly as the cumbersome armies of Russia could drag their way through strange and difficult countries—through the forests of Poland, and the mountains of Silesia! The event proved how grievously those planners of the campaign had erred. From Boulogne to the right bank of the Rhine, the French army spent only three weeks instead of five, the computed time; in a fortnight more the fate of the cam-

paign in Swabia was decided. It had been agreed that the Russians and Austrians should join on the Inn, and there wait for the French, who, it was calculated, would take sixty-four days to march thither from Boulogne, besides six days to put themselves in motion, and ten which were allowed for the priority of information. How long the French took to give their orders for beginning the march, we know not precisely—six days they certainly did not consume in this way. But one thing is too surely proved, that they arrived at the Inn, *after* completely destroying the Austrian armies, a fortnight sooner than the estimate supposed they could arrive in order to *begin* the campaign. Nor is this reasoning from the event unfair in the present question; that event is by no means unparalleled in the history of the French tactics. Had the Russian and Austrian counsellors any right to make such calculations of the French movements? Could England have failed to oppose blunders on the face of the matter

so enormous, if she had been permitted to partake in the consultations, upon the common cause, at Vienna ?

(4.) But although such errors as we have been contemplating had not entered into the details of the campaign, there was a fundamental omission in the concerted plan, which must have proved fatal to the success of any attempt against France. No measures were taken beforehand for the occupation of Switzerland, or the encouragement of the Austrian interest in that country; and one of the first acts of the court of Vienna, when the war commenced, was an acknowledgment of its neutrality*. It is manifest, that, if the war was not offensive against France, it had no object: and few points seem now to be more clearly ascertained, than the impossibility of making any successful attempt to penetrate into that country on the north of the Alps. The vulnerable part of the French territory, is that which can only

* Sup. Papers, p. 9 and 10.

be commanded by the possession of Switzerland, *Franche Compté*—an open country, naturally weak, entirely unprovided with strong places or works of art, leading by a short march into the very heart of the empire, surrounded by several of the provinces best affected towards the cause of royalty and the league. If France wished at any time to commence offensive operations against Austria, the occupation of Switzerland might be necessary for their success; not only from the command which that country has of the communication between Germany, as well as France and Italy, and from its commanding posture towards the Austrian possessions; but also because, if not occupied by France, it must either be seized by Austria, to the incalculable danger of *Franche Compté*, or remain neutral, to the great and hazardous diminution of the French line of attack. But if France changes her usual mode of invading Austria, and pushes on with her main army, not in Italy but Swabia, while the possession of Lombardy and the Genoese, and

the command of Lower Italy allows her to support that operation by an army on the Adriatic; it is certainly of less consequence that the neutrality of Switzerland should narrow her line of attack; and she gains more by the certainty of avoiding any danger from that quarter, than she loses by the sacrifice of one additional point of invasion. On the other hand, if France is to act only on the defensive, the neutrality of Switzerland is absolutely necessary for her safety. If that country is rendered impassable, all fears for the only valuable part of France are removed. If it is left open to Austria, while her armies are making advances from Lombardy, through Piedmont and the Genoese, and by threatening an attack upon the southern departments of France, are drawing the French troops towards the Mediterranean, and forcing them to fall back upon France, not by the side of Switzerland, but by the Col di Tende and the Var; and while the armies on the Rhine are supporting the southern operations by defending Germany, or even

threatening Alsace, the occupation of Switzerland by the allies, must give the enemy a line of weak country to defend, from Hunningen to Lyons, in an arch of which the allies have possession of the cord. The grand fault of the directory in 1799, was their first neglecting to secure, and then themselves violating the neutrality of Switzerland: they occupied it, and when their inadequate means of attack compelled them to resume the defensive, France was exposed in consequence of Switzerland not being neutral, to such imminent danger of a formidable invasion, that nothing saved her but the violent remedy of calling out the second and third conscriptions.

The neutrality of Switzerland, then, is of all points the most important to France, whether she wishes to carry on a defensive war, or to attack in a single point on the North of the Alps. So sensible of this were the French government, and so well aware of the error which had almost proved fatal in 1799, that their first anxiety

on a near prospect of war, was to establish the Swiss neutrality. To this the cabinet of Vienna unhappily consented; forgetful of the evils which must result from such a step in all offensive operations against France, and of the impossibility of securing that neutrality against the French one moment longer than *they* might find it beneficial to their own cause. Although, therefore, the beginning of the campaign had not proved fatal in consequence of other errors; although France had then been foiled, and the Austrians had been required to follow up their first successes in Germany or Italy, by carrying the war into France; the neutrality of Switzerland would have destroyed every chance of pursuing the offensive with success, by reducing the French frontier to the strong country between the Lake of Geneva and the mouth of the Var, the impregnable bastion of Holland, and the iron wall of the Netherlands and Rhine. When we find such a grand omission as this in the com-

binations of the allies, we are intitled to maintain that the addition of one other counsellor would have supplied it ; and that counsellor ought to have been England, the soul and support of the confederacy.

But the conduct of England relative to Swiss affairs, was indeed unfortunate in other respects. She seems to have joined with the allies in misconceiving at all times the importance of the Alpine territory. Her treatment of the cantons when France invaded them in 1802, and the misfortunes which befel her allies in those countries, through the unskilfulness of the English agents, during the whole of the last war, will not soon be forgotten by the Swiss. But a more recent impolicy on our part, has thrown away all the advantages which the coalition might still have expected from the tried valour of that people, and their unconquerable hatred of France. We granted pensions to many of the Swiss officers who had entered our service dur-

ing the last war, and always on the express condition that they should *not* reside in Switzerland*. These brave men, whose influence with their countrymen was powerful; whose fidelity to our cause had never been suspected; who only panted after the moment when their rage against France might once more shew itself at the head of their peasantry, were thus deprived of the only means by which they could maintain their personal authority, and support the good cause in their own country. Had they been allowed to receive at home a pension, earned by the utter ruin of their fortunes in our service, and not forced to earn it over again by submitting to banishment; and had a similar bounty been extended to the other reduced officers, who were left at the peace without means of subsistence, unless they entered the French or Helvetian service; the means would have been pre-

* This fact will not be denied by any agent of the English government.

pared—in generosity and prudence prepared—of rousing the whole Alps from Constance to the Rhone, in hostility to France, as soon as the war should break out ; and the allies would then have had some prospect of invading that powerful empire, on the side where alone it can be attacked. It must, however, be admitted, that such a conduct on the part of England would have been anomalous, and sufficiently inconsistent with the rest of her foreign policy. To have looked forward beyond the next year ; to have taken measures in silence for the slow preparations of distant events ; to have gradually disposed the minds of a people in our favour by kind treatment, for which no immediate return was expected, or won them by any other means than a manifesto from a commander at the head of a pauntry force ; to have laid plans of war beforehand which should not for some time burst into view, with glare and noise ; out of our millions to have given a few pounds for the support of our firmest

friends, ruined in our cause; to have spent what we did give, in a manner grateful to them, or really beneficial to our interests; in our countless subsidies, to have had a single guinea bestowed, which should not be repaid by the defeat of the receiver immediately; and his utter ruin, at six months credit—all this would have indicated a strange, unaccountable deviation from the system which has been unremittingly at work, since the treaty of Pilnitz, by day and by night, during war and during truce, in aggrandizing the proud, and crushing the humble; and which has at length, by the most persevering constancy of operation, happily completed the ruin of our allies, and triumphing, it must be confessed, over various and mighty obstacles, established our enemy in universal empire.

These four capital errors in the arrangement of the late war, are, we think, either to be ascribed to England not having been consulted, or else to her having par-

taken in the infatuation of the allies. But it will be said that those allies would give her no voice in such matters as the choice of a general, the march of troops, and the plan of a campaign; and that they would have persisted in adhering to their own errors, even after England should have pointed them out. This is not improbable; but it only shews for the hundredth time, that things were not ripe for a new war. If Austria persisted in preferring a general, from court favour, to the great prince who had twice saved the monarchy; if she insisted on calculating her plans upon the supposition that French armies can only move ten miles a-day through Flanders; if she shut her eyes to the value of Bavaria, and refused to learn the paramount importance of Switzerland in any war against France—then it was manifest that nothing could be hoped for, and that Austria had not been subdued to a sense of her interest, nor felt her real situation. It was the province of England to prevent her from

beginning a league for which she was so ill prepared. It was madness in England to hurry on the continent to a war, which, if unsuccessful, must be its last struggle for independence, in circumstances that made it madness to hope for success.

7. It remains to inquire what direct assistance Great Britain afforded to the coalition which she had formed—how far her co-operation with the measures of hostility, was either well-planned or well-timed.

An expedition was prepared for the north of Germany, at a time when the cause of the allies might have been materially aided by a diversion either in Holland, or the north of France, and the country of Hanover was chosen as the scene of our operations. It is needless to remark, how very trifling the benefit of such a scheme was to the advantage of making a powerful diversion at the beginning of the campaign. Admitting that Hanover should be occupied after a short defence—the most critical moment for distracting the French

force was thrown away, and our allies had a right to complain that our co-operation was limited to an object purely British, while they were risking their existence for the independence of the continent.

When the army of invasion left Boulogne almost defenceless, surely we might have made an attempt upon its works, by landing a force ; and had some chance of destroying the flotilla which has given so much uneasiness to this country, but which is chiefly to be dreaded as it will always form a popular ground of objection to a peace with France. The enemy had withdrawn his army suddenly, and the first step which he was likely to take was to supply its place by marching from the interior new troops, better fitted for garrison duty than for the service of the field. The opportunity, therefore, of attacking Boulogne was transient, and must be seized at once. Our government, engaged in projects of new arms, and fireworks, and arrows, and the other resources of the

chymical method of war, allowed an opportunity to pass by which assuredly will not soon return.

But, when an expedition was resolved on to Germany, means were taken to defeat its utility and narrow its chance of success as far as possible. The departure of the army from Boulogne took place in the beginning of September, and our troops did not arrive in Hanover before the middle of November. This delay is most unaccountable. The moment that the invasion was put off, our forces should have been ready to set sail: the preparations should have been made before that time, because we knew perfectly well, that, as soon as the war broke out, the Boulogne army must leave the coast. But, besides forcing the continent to begin the attack unprepared, it appears that the war, of which we were the planners and instigators, found us after all our negotiations still less prepared than our allies. Accordingly the armament lost the fine season, and sailed, as British expeditions generally do, in a month when storms must be

expected. Some of our best troops were lost ; the rest arrived in time to make a shew of retaking Hanover, after every chance of doing any thing more than defending that electorate was gone*. The allies saw that nothing could be gained to the common cause by such an operation ; and Austria has since ascribed part of the general disasters † to our delay in making any diversion.

But still worse contrived was our co-operation in Italy. Had the English and Russian army in the Mediterranean landed in Lombardy, or the Venetian territory, so as either to join the Archduke (a benefit incalculable to troops commanded by inferior generals ‡) or to hang upon Mas-

* See General Don's Proclamation, Nov. 20, 1805.

† Count Sathremberg's note, Sup. Pap. p. 52.

‡ It cannot be reckoned any disrespect to the meritorious officer at the head of the allied army, to presume that great advantage would have arisen from his not opposing the ablest general of France, without the assistance of Prince Charles. General Craig's services in the East are certainly very eminent ; but the Mahrattas, with all the improvements which they have reaped from our East Indian policy, are still a very different enemy from the French, and General

sen's rear; the best effects might have followed. The inferiority of the Austrians in point of force was clearly the cause of their not making head against the enemy in that quarter: still greater was the disparity of numbers after the defeats in Germany caused the Archduke to detach a large body of his army to reinforce General Mack*. That was the moment when the assistance of twenty thousand English and Russians was likely to be of eminent service: but, instead of adopting this plan, we landed an army in Naples, than which no measure could be more injudicious.

We affected to defend the King of Naples, yet we forced him to give our troops admittance, immediately after he had solemnly engaged himself not to admit any English or Russian forces into his territories, or any ships of war into his ports†. In return for this strict neutrality which

Craig would unquestionably have found the Italian campaign a new scene. "*Longe alius Italiæ quam Indiæ, per quam temulento agmine commissabundus incessit, visus illi habitus esset, saltus Apuliæ et montes Lucanos cernenti.*"—Tit. Liv. ix. 17.

* Sir A. Paget's dispatch, Sup. Pap. p. 21.

† Treaty of Portici, Oct. 8, 1805.

he promised to observe, France withdrew her troops from his dominions. As soon as they were gone, England compelled him to break his engagements, and to receive her army. But admitting that the measures were not compulsory on our part, we ought to have respected his neutrality, if he himself did not ; and, knowing his engagements with France, we ought to have taken no advantage of any disposition which he might betray to break them. Indeed we gained nothing by this rash and unjust conduct. The French army was gone at any rate, and Naples freed for the present. We did not venture to land an army until every thing had been done which could be gained by a victorious campaign. The French troops were sure to return as soon as the affairs in the north should be settled, and then we must fly as speedily as possible. A landing in the Adriatic, and a junction with the Archduke, would have had the effect of freeing Naples from the French, had they been willing to remain there, just as certainly as landing in the bay of Naples.

By pursuing the former plan, effectual service would have been performed in the north, besides the liberation of the south. The latter plan, which unhappily we adopted, without doing any good to the Archduke, only protected Naples so long as it was the interest of France to withdraw her troops, and kept a large army unemployed, so long as it was the interest of the allies to have every soldier in their service brought into the field against the enemy. The occupation of Naples, then, after the French had left it, could never assist the campaign in the north. If the allies were successful in that quarter; Naples was freed at any rate. If they were unsuccessful, our army could not long defend it. We managed with our usual skill to unite all disadvantages in one plan : we hurried on one ally to the ruin which has since befallen him, for the purpose of rendering our army useless at a time when another ally might have been saved by its co-operation. So uniform, so harmonious in every quarter have been

the schemes of England throughout the late coalition !—And can we wonder that our affairs have been ruined amidst the waste of our resources, and the squander of our opportunities, when we have been consistent only in impolicy, lavish of every thing but vigour, and strenuous in pursuing all varieties of plan, all sorts of system, except those which border upon prudence and wisdom?

It remains before closing the melancholy history of our misconduct, that some notice should be taken of the strange proceeding adopted by his majesty's late ministers, in publishing dispatches relating to some of the most delicate subjects imaginable.

The treaties laid before parliament are not given entire: several articles are suppressed; but one is inserted for the avowed purpose of binding the contracting parties to act in a certain event contrary to their public declarations*. Why a stipulation, which convicts the parties of deliberately

* Additional Art. July 24—Treat. p. 24.

laying the grounds of a positive falsehood, should not have been kept concealed, as well as other separate articles*, it would be difficult to determine. How far Russia and Austria will approve of the disclosure, it is easy to conjecture. There is the same indiscretion in publishing a secret article, binding England to subsidize Austria and Sweden, if they came forward within ten months—when the treaty itself threatens to withhold all subsidy, unless those powers take the field within four months†. It is obvious, that, for the future, all such threats from Russia and England will be of no avail; their precise meaning is now ascertained. It is probable, too, that the Austrian cabinet will not be much pleased with the publication of Sir A. Paget's dispatch of 29th August, in which he states, that Count Cobentzel had insinuated to him, that the language of the

* Articles 3, 7, 9, and 10, are suppressed, possibly more.

† Compare first Separate Art. (public) with second ditto (secret) Treat. p. 11, 20.

Emperor would be heightened or lowered in proportion as he should be subsidized by England *.

We may also form some conjecture of the Archduke Charles's feelings, when he finds himself held up to the world, by the official papers of the English cabinet, as the slave of ill-temper and jealousy; fearful of reinforcing the army of his rival; taking umbrage at such reinforcements being given, when the fate of the monarchy depended on it: and this rival too—the object of all this jealousy and umbrage in the mind of Prince Charles of Austria—General Mack!—When Sir A. Paget gave such information † to his court, he only repeated lightly what he had been told falsely; but surely he never expected that his communication would be laid before Parliament as a public document. Count Rasumofski, too, when he transmitted his free strictures on the cabinet of Vienna to his court, did not probably conceive that our government,

* Sup. Pap. p. 4. † Ibid. p. 11 and 12.

getting notice of them through their minister at St. Petersburg, would publish them to all the world. It is possible, that he may feel it rather unpleasant to communicate with a ministry who are now aware of his contempt for their character*. The same ambassador is convicted of having deceived our minister at Vienna, as to his knowledge of the Russian army's destination. Sir A. Paget's dispatch of September 5, states that Count Rasumofski knew nothing about it†, but the Protocol of Conferences proves that in July he knew the whole matter‡. The publication of the Protocol, too, clearly proves that the allies had reason to reckon upon the co-operation of the Neapolitans, as soon as their army should land from Corfu || ; and this information, thus communicated to the French government, would have ensured the total ruin of the Sicilian court, if the more active efforts of our friendship had

* Sup. pap. p. 16.

† Ibid. p. 43.

‡ Ibid. p. 7.

|| Ibid. p. 43 & 44.

not already effected that object in a more direct way.

It was not enough, then, that our fatal activity accomplished at last the subjugation of the continent ; that our allies were by our exertions brought to utter discomfiture ; we must hold them up to contempt after the struggle is over, by divulging secrets which the most limited discretion would have respected. Not content with sacrificing the foreign interest of England, by the compendious events of one short campaign, we must cut it up by the roots, and prevent its ever growing again, by taking such steps as may naturally beget distrust and alienation ; by ruining in the eyes of Europe, our character for discretion and good faith, which had survived the wreck of so many continental leagues. And to what purpose have those disclosures been made ? Whose cause have they served ? Which of the measures that produced the downfall of Austria have they elucidated ? Which of the British statesmen who planned those measures

have they exculpated ? To thoughtlessness alone can this conduct be imputed, or to the fatuity of despair ; to the unheeding temerity, the impatience of rest, which devised and directed the third coalition ; and the despair which those always feel most under disappointment, whose hopes are the most extravagant, and whose resources are the most paltry.

From contemplating the progress of our late fatal misconduct, it is difficult to avoid casting behind us a look at the better times of English history ; when the affairs of this country were administered by the vigour of Cromwell, or her fortunes and the liberties of Europe entrusted to the sagacity of William ; when the name of England was dreaded on every sea, her alliance courted as the badge of honour, and the pledge of safety in the remotest parts of the continent, and her protecting wisdom revered by all the nations, as their common shelter from oppression. How mightily have things been since changed ! How little is *that* England now to be re-

cognized ! How plainly may the revolution in her destiny be traced to the alteration of her conduct ! It is indeed highly instructive to pause for a moment, and contrast the policy which gave birth to the conquest of Germany, with that which, after preparing the grand alliance, was developed in the victories of Marlborough, and ended in the subjugation of France. From such a comparison we may learn why the event was so different.

The overgrown power of Louis XIV, was ably but unsuccessfully resisted by the allies, during the war which ended so favourably to France in the peace of Nimeguen. After that treaty, his insolence knew no bounds, and scarcely a month passed without some aggression, which would have amply justified a renewal of the war. But William, then the soul of the alliance, exerted all his influence in repressing any premature opposition ; wisely judging that the justice of a war—the extent of the provocation—is only half the question ; and must always be subordinate to the prospect of succeeding by

an appeal to arms. In a few years, Spain rashly began hostilities, which William having in vain tried to prevent, endeavoured by all prudent means to assist. He applied to every court in order to combine a new alliance: but finding that the time was not come, he continued to prepare measures, which he knew must lead to a happy result at a future period. As he foresaw, the usurpations of the French king, and his religious persecutions, in a few years excited a universal disposition to oppose him, and waiting until this spirit had reached its highest pitch, he availed himself of it, to form the league of Augsburg, which united the catholic as well as protestant interests of the empire, in one common cause against France. In 1681, he might have gained one of the rival parties, but he knew how inadequate such support would prove to the exigencies of the occasion. He waited until the course of events had prepared both the contending interests, the Austrian and Prussian factions of those days, and he

succeeded in uniting them all under his standard. The whole Empire was now combined against France; Spain and Holland acceded to the league; Savoy soon after joined it; Sweden and Denmark warmly favoured the cause; and the court of Rome itself, was by the able negotiations of William, induced to support a contest most essential to the Protestant Church. This great confederacy was animated with the spirit of resistance to France, and submission to the counsels of their leader. All Europe was cordially united in the league; with the exception of England: and yet, on this single account, William delayed putting the allies in motion, notwithstanding the continued insults and increasing aggressions of France: he waited until he had undertaken that enterprise which secured the liberties of this country, and which enabled him to complete the alliance for restoring those of Europe. It was not till after he had effected the *Revolution*, and could add England to the league, that he allowed the confederates

to take the field ; and then, he continued to be the mover of the whole operations, not by manifestoes or subsidies, but by active assistance, and by superintending in person at repeated conferences of the combined powers, the whole arrangement of their plans for the war. By the success of this system the tide was at length turned against France ; and though the peace of Ryswick still left her a formidable neighbour, it succeeded in repressing her encroachments and securing the independence of other states, which, since the peace of Nimeguen, she had been constantly attacking. " There was not one of the allies, (says Bishop Burnett), who complained that he had been forgot by him, or wronged in the treaty : Nor had the desire of having his title universally acknowledged, raised any impatience in him, or made him run into this peace with any indecent haste."*

His moderation and good sense in making the best peace he could, notwithstanding

* History of his own Times, ii. 117.

his rooted antipathy to France was equally eminent. "The terms of it," says Burnett, "were still too much to the advantage of France; but the length and charge of the war had so exhausted the allies, that the king saw the necessity of accepting the best conditions that could be got*." He well knew that the next war must complete the victories which his policy and prudence had begun to achieve. His measures were accordingly planned with a view to new resistance; and after his resources, and those of his allies had been recruited by an interval of quiet, they revived the league, under the well known name of that Grand Alliance, which led through a series of brilliant exploits to the utter humiliation of the common enemy.

To complete the contrast between the character of this great Prince's policy, and that which produced the late continental war, it would be necessary to detail the whole particulars of his public life. It may be sufficient to finish the parallel at

* History of his own Times, ii. 117.

present attempted, if we add, that he was eminently distinguished by a certain slowness to passion in his closet, as well as by uncommon ardour in action ; that his judgment was prompt and alert, in proportion as his temper was cold. His schemes conceived in sobriety of mind, were calculated to attain some great and solid end, and not to strike the vulgar by their gaudiness. Their execution was delayed until the moment when success was most likely—not adjusted to the time when popular applause might be grateful, or convenient for other purposes. In planning them he was close and reserved ; but when he had matured them, and when his time came, there was no wavering, no procrastination, no vapouring of hopes ; finally, after the threat was made, not one moments' delay of which the enemy could avail himself ; the noise never went before the stroke*.

* The promoters of the late continental war appear all along to have mistaken passion and precipitancy for energy and promptitude ; on their own part, and on the part of foreign powers, they uniformly confounded forbearance with spiritless submission—prudence with weakness, and prudence with timidity. The example of one great monarch is quoted above,

It is remarkable how universal the contrast to which we are alluding, is observable even in minute particulars. "He was," says the Historian, "an exact observer of men

whose conduct formed so mighty a contrast with that which we have been contemplating. The authority of another able and successful prince is equally decisive against such a line of policy. The following passage from the King of Prussia's "Memoirs of his own Times," contains advice so very applicable to the case in question, that it is difficult to believe it could have been written before the war of 1805.

"La raison nous prescrit une règle sur ce sujet, dont, ce me semble, aucun homme d'Etat ne doit s'écarter; c'est de saisir l'occasion, & d'entreprendre lorsqu'elle est favorable; mais de ne point la forcer en abandonnant tout au hasard. Il y a des momens qui demandent qu'on mette toute son activité en jeu pour en profiter; mais il y en a d'autres où la prudence veut qu'on reste dans l'inaction. Cette matière exige la plus profonde réflexion, parce que non seulement il faut bien examiner l'état des choses, mais qu'il faut encore prévoir toutes les suites d'une entreprise, & peser les moyens que l'on a avec ceux de ses ennemis, pour juger lesquels l'emportent dans la balance. Si la raison n'y décide pas seule, & que la passion s'en mêle, il est impossible que d'heureux succès suivent une pareille entreprise. La politique demande de la patience, & le chef-d'œuvre d'un homme habile est de faire chaque chose en son temps & à propos."

"L'histoire est l'école des princes; c'est à eux de s'instruire des fautes des siècles passés, pour les éviter, & pour apprendre qu'il faut se former un système & le suivre pied à pied, & que celui qui a le mieux calculé sa conduite est le seul qui puisse l'emporter sur ceux qui agissent moins conséquemment que lui."

Fred. II. Hist. de mon Temps.

and things, but he did not descend even to the humours of his people, to make himself and his notions more acceptable to them. He knew all foreign affairs well, and understood the state of every court in Europe very particularly—he instructed his own ministers himself—his only two favourites, Portland and Albemarle, were men in all respects, of opposite characters, agreeing only in *secrecy* and *fidelity*.”* It was by such a system, and so eminent a capacity for affairs, that this illustrious person laid the foundation in Europe, of that independence from French dominion, which his successors reared up. The fabric was indeed strong, and has withstood many shocks : but, like all the works of man, it is made of perishable materials ; and new systems having gained ground under statesmen of opposite characters, it may now justly be questioned, whether there yet exists a wreck of what king William bequeathed.

* Burnett ii. 176 and 177.

We have now completed the examination of the late continental policy of England, and have been enabled, from a review of the facts presented by the official documents, to estimate the merits of those who conceived and prosecuted that fatal system. Many of the errors which we have noticed, are only extravagant forms of mistakes not unknown in the past history of the country; and the fruits of a policy radically defective as to external relations, which has long been growing up to maturity. The details of such misconduct are not uninstrusive. They expose, by exhibiting an extreme case, the evils of the general principles; demonstrate the necessity of administering a remedy; and lead us towards the quarter from whence it may be obtained. This inquiry, too, has occasionally opened to us such views of the situation of the Continent, as may suggest the absurdity of expecting any improvement in its fortunes for a long course of years. The arguments which have been urged to shew the folly of pressing forward towards

a new league in 1805, operate with manifold force after the fatal changes which have ushered in the present year, and have flowed from the errors of the last. We are thus prepared for the remaining part of the discussion—the present state of continental affairs, and the new, and necessarily moderate and pacific system which it prescribes to this country.

Having, therefore, fully explained to what causes England and Europe owe the misfortunes which have lately happened, we now proceed to take a view of the extent of those misfortunes.

II. CONSEQUENCES OF OUR LATE FOREIGN POLICY.

1. The actual changes of dominion which the third Coalition has already produced, are in the highest degree alarming—whether we consider them as losses to Austria or gains to France.

At the last peace, the Venetian territory had even been imagined by some to be a

fair compensation for the loss of the Netherlands. In several points of view, its importance was certainly of the very first rank. Besides a large extent of the most fruitful country, a population of nearly two millions, and a revenue of a million sterling; it gave Austria a line of sea coast, studded with excellent harbours, in the immediate neighbourhood of those rich provinces, which had long been checked in their progress, by their scanty means of foreign commerce. The acquisition of Venice easily rendered the power which also possessed the extensive dominions on the north of the Adriatic, mistress of that sea. The country to the East of the Gulf, was valuable in case any views might hereafter be formed respecting Turkey;—or might become necessary from the policy of other states in relation to that defenceless neighbour. The footing which the Venetian territory gave Austria in Lombardy, added to her dominions in the Alpine Country, served to retain somewhat at least of her former sway in the affairs

of Italy; gave her a certain security against any further changes being attempted by France in that quarter; and secured, when an opportunity might offer, the means of regaining the ascendant she had once possessed in those fine countries. All these valuable possessions are now lost; and all the prospects of which they were the foundation—the hopes of external influence, and the more solid expectation of domestic improvement, are vanished for ever. France, or her dependency, the Italian Republic, has completed the conquest of Lombardy. From the Gulf of Genoa to the Gulph of Istria, all is French.

To estimate how much France has gained by the acquisition of the Venetian provinces, it is only necessary that we should reflect on the importance of those territories to the Italian Republic, from their position, and the facilities which they afford of increasing the naval power of the enemy. The commerce of Venice, now very considerable, and only checked since the revolution by the impolitic preference

given to Trieste, will increase rapidly, when at least equal exertions are made to encourage it. At present it does not occupy less than 400 vessels belonging to the port of Venice alone. In its better days the number of these was tenfold. The naval arsenal of that city is famous, and the neighbouring harbours perfectly well adapted to the purposes of trade. The coast of Dalmatia, with the islands, possesses perhaps more fine ports, with strong fortifications, than any in the world. Nona, Zara, Sebenico, Trau, Spalatro, Castel Nuovo, Matero, Lesina, Corcyra—are but a few of the harbours impregnable to attack, and commanding every commercial advantage, which have now fallen into the hands of the Cisalpine and its masters. It is unnecessary to state how prodigious an accession of trade and force this must, in a short time, secure to France; and how paramount it must render her superiority in the Mediterranean. Whether we now attempt to defend Sicily, or avert the downfall of Turkey and the seizure of Egypt, we

shall feel the consequences of the treaty of Presburg in every operation of the war.

The loss of the Tyrol, and its annexation to the new kingdom of Bavaria, is, though not from the superior territorial value of that province, yet certainly from its relative situation, of still greater detriment to Austria than her sacrifices in Italy. The natural strength of the country, the loyalty and valour of its inhabitants, and the skill which their mode of life gave them in the warfare adapted to mountainous countries, made the Tyrol altogether invaluable as a barrier against the invasion of the hereditary states; had the house of Austria but learnt the right use of those resources. Unhappily, there prevailed a constant jealousy of the Tyrolese, and an inclination to check them in those pursuits which were their most favourite occupation, and which formed the habits, of all others most necessary for the successful defence of their country. Even in a war which threatened the throne of the monarchy, the same

evil policy continued to curb the exertions of this high spirited people; and, after weakening, during peace, by absurd restraints, the force which they could have opposed to the enemy, the court of Vienna, now, at the moment of invasion, persisted in refusing to avail itself of their services. In several places, the peasantry were deprived of arms, and checked by the army, lest they should defend their mountains irregularly, while the old tacticians were retreating from the strongest holds, according to rule. Frequently, in spite of all resistance from their own master, these brave and skilful mountaineers made out the point of being allowed to fight; they generally made a successful stand, sometimes gained signal advantages over the French troops, while all their exertions were systematically thwarted by the Austrian commanders. But it is manifest, that while the province remained under the dominion of Austria, she might at any time have turned it to full account, by reforming so obviously pernicious a

system of management. During a short interval of peace, she might organise its natural force so as to render it quite impregnable; and then, whatever successes the enemy might, on any future occasion, gain in Lombardy and the Frioul, or on the Danube, his progress was effectually checked by the natural garrison which he left behind him; which must be taken, not turned; which preserved unbroken the communication with Italy and with Switzerland; which must always, if properly managed, have been the main theatre of any war, where Austria acted on the defensive. Such were the incalculable advantages, in a defensive point of view, which Austria lost by the cession of the Tyrol.

If we keep in mind the remarks formerly made upon the importance of Switzerland, we shall be enabled to perceive still further advantages for defence, which Austria has lost in the Tyrol, and to estimate the extent of this loss in an offensive point of view. The complete establishment of France

in Lombardy and the Genoese, would of itself have augmented the dependence of Switzerland upon her power. But though the passes on the West and South would have been open to her, while the Tyrol and the Voralberg remained in the hands of Austria, the Swiss might always reckon upon her powerful support; their country might be defended by its native forces against the inroads of the enemy from the other sides*, until assistance was poured in from the East; even if overpowered, their natural allies might still hope to effect their liberation, by attacking from that quarter the French who should have established themselves in the Alpine territory, as was done successfully by the Rhiathal and Engadine in 1799: and at all events, the subjugation of Switzerland would not have proved altogether fatal to Austria, when she had the strong outwork of the Tyrol on

* There are only four passes into Switzerland, from the French side, and seven from the Italian. The Swiss could easily defend these for a month or six weeks.

that side, both to oppose the new position of the enemy, and to interrupt the communication between his Italian dominions and the new acquisitions in the North, which the occupation of the Alps might give him.

But still more important, for offensive purposes, was the communication which the Tyrol afforded between Austria and Switzerland. The Swiss were beyond any other people hostile to France. Of this hatred they had given undoubted proofs in the last war; their skill in defending their own passes was truly wonderful; and no instance is on record of successes equal to theirs, won by individual dexterity and courage over numbers and discipline. While this character continued to adorn that virtuous and unconquerable peasantry, there was always a prospect of their making such a resistance to France, in the event of a wisely arranged scheme of invasion, as might enable Austria to come up, and thus attack the enemy upon his most vulnerable side. Even if she unfortunately preferred the plan of invading France by the Rhine or the Var,

and for that purpose wished to secure the neutrality of Switzerland; the possession of the Tyrol enabled her to do so; because it gave France some inducement to acquiesce in that arrangement. All the advantages, then, which were most important to Austria, whether she intended to attack France, or to defend herself by means of Switzerland, depended entirely on her possessing the Tyrol.—With the Tyrol she has now lost them for ever. Switzerland is completely surrounded by France and the French dependencies; cut off from the only power which could enable her to stand out for a moment against her enemy; delivered up without the possibility of resisting; prevented from ever being employed in the invasion of France; but ready at any time to be used as the means of finally reducing Austria. In this employment of Switzerland, the Tyrol will not only be no hindrance; it will be made to assist. The peasantry of that country will be *organised* according to their *aptitudes*, *physical* and *moral*; their privileges will be extended

for the purpose of gaining their assistance against their former oppressors, and of rendering their exertions more powerful; and Austria will at length discover the value of the Tyrol, by the services which it may render to her invaders.

The loss of the Venetian and Tyrolese territory, with the confirmation of the French power over Switzerland, has now completed the dominion of France over the whole of Italy. Every avenue to that country is finally closed against Austria and commanded by her enemy with undivided authority. From Dalmatia and the confines of Turkey, round to Strasburg, France has drawn a line of strong possessions, by which she completely hems in Italy; cuts her off from every communication with the rest of the world; and opens to her the closest intercourse with herself. Her sway being so absolute, here, it is natural that she should lose no time in exercising all the rights of sovereignty. Accordingly, she models at pleasure the kingdom of Etruria; augments the Cisal-

pine; disposes at will of the court of Rome; and dethrones, by a common regimental order, the royal family of Naples; for which last proceeding England, be it remembered, took care to furnish also the pretext, after having given the power of accomplishing it.

Thus has the grand strife between France and Austria at length been settled, by the surrender of Italy, more absolute and unconditional, and in a far greater extent, than the courtiers of Charles, of Francis, or of Lewis, ever dared flatter their masters to expect. France has now become sole mistress of that splendid country, from the Alps to the streights of Messina—its position, which domineers over the Mediterranean; its mighty resources; the fruitfulness of the garden of Europe; the bays, and rivers, and harbours which open to its produce the uttermost ends of the earth; the forests which variegate its surface, and only break the continuity of culture to augment its powers, by preparing for this favoured land the dominion of the sea; the genius and fire of its numerous people; the monuments of art;

the remains of antiquity; the ground on which the glories of their Roman ancestors were atchieved;—all are now in the hands of the nation in the world best able to improve them—to combine them—to make them aid one another; and, after calling them forth, to the incalculable augmentation of her former resources, ready to turn them against those, if any such shall remain, who still dare to be her enemies.

The other changes of dominion effected by the treaty of Presburg—the emperor's cession of his possessions in Suabia*, and his submission to the further spoliation of the German empire†;—though important in themselves, and sufficient, in any former period, to alarm all Europe for their consequences; sink into insignificance after the entire surrender of Italy, which we have been con-

* These are chiefly the Burgaw, the Brigaw, and Contance. The whole loss of Austria has been estimated at 1297 square geographical miles; 2,716,000 subjects, and 1,600,000*l.* sterling of yearly revenue; of which three fourths have been given to the Cisalpine.

† The seizure of Augsburg and Borndorff.

templating. All those changes have one simple view—the diminution of the Austrian monarchy; its separation from France by a number of petty kingdoms dependent on the French power; the transference of the Emperor's influence in Germany to his enemies; and his confinement to the politics of the East of Europe; where, also, he is closely watched by France and her creatures. Nor does it make any difference upon the relative situation of the powers, that the sacrifices of Austria have been made to aggrandize the dependants of France, and not France herself. That overgrown empire could not expect to keep together more nations and countries than it already counted within its limits*. The only feat which the French power has not attempted, is the conciliation of those peoples whom it has conquered; the only

* —“ *Quibus non lex, non mos, non lingua communis; alius habitus, alia vestis, alia arma, alii ritus, alia sacra, alii prope Dei essent: ita quodam uno vinculo copulaverit eos, ut nulla nec inter ipsos, nec adversus ducem seditio extiterit.*”—Tit. liv. xxviii. 12.

difficulties which it has not mastered, are those that natural boundaries present. France, therefore, finds it more easy to complete the incorporation of Europe by some intermediate process, which may assimilate its heterogeneous parts, and prepare them for a lasting, as well as an intimate union. In the mean time, her sway over the principalities and powers, whom she calls into existence, is absolute and certain; her influence is hourly gaining ground. Should the course of events maintain the nominal separation of those dependent kingdoms, they may, at some future period, revolt from her federal empire; but, for years to come, they are as subservient to her purposes, as if they had no separate names. Had she not acted upon such principles; had she taken more to herself at Presburg; she would have resembled the allies whose impolicy has laid Europe at her feet: she would have seemed to gain more, but she would not have been the formidable neighbour which a deeper policy has made her.

2. But the calamities of Austria are not to be measured by the cessions that have been wrung from her. The unhappy events of the Coalition War have had a more extensive and deep rooted influence, than can appear in the articles of any treaty which may have been made to terminate actual hostilities. There are certain effects of conquest, certain symptoms of subjugation, which escape the art of the diplomatist, and cannot be expressed in public instruments. In a little month, the finest army in the imperial service was annihilated without striking a blow. From the Rhine to the heart of the hereditary states, the French marched on with one uniform success, and had not even to fight their way. The progress of their forces through the best defended countries of the Emperor, resembled a regular movement through a subject and peaceable state. Every thing gave way before them, as if both armies were governed by the same word of command; and the Austrian cabinet can

only account for the defeat of its troops by stating, that two grievous errors were committed; one, in expecting the enemy would respect the Prussian neutrality, when it stood in the way of a decisive victory; the other, in being deceived by his bare assertion respecting the armistice*. The fruit of these rapid and easy conquests was the possession of Vienna. Nor did the progress of the French arms stop there. Prussia, unmoved, saw France surrounding her on every side, by the complete reduction of Germany; she allowed the conquerors to march on in all directions, to drive the Emperor from his capital, and pursue him out of the Empire. At last, on the verge of his hereditary dominions, a general engagement takes place, the first and the last of this eventful campaign, in which the battle has indeed been to the skilful, not the strong; which, from the

* See Count Stahremberg's Note, where he states these two mistakes of General Mack and Prince Aversberg, as fundamental causes of the defeats.—
Sup. pap. p. 52.

beginning to the end, has been one constant illustration of the weakness of mere physical force, and the omnipotence of talents. Is it possible that such things should speedily be forgotten? Where is the nation so stout hearted as not to feel disasters like these? The very sights of unexampled humiliation to which the people have been witness; the strange events which within a few weeks have brought the Austrian monarchy so low; must leave an indelible impression on their minds; and prepare them for new defeats, while they efface the memory of past victories. “*Nec quisquam adeo rerum humanarum immemor, quem non commoveret illa facies, Romanum principem et generis humani paullo ante dominum, relictæ fortunæ suæ sede, per populum, per urbem, exire de Imperio—nihil tale viderant—nihil audierant**.” If to the state in which their defeats have left the spirit of the Austrians, we oppose the natural effects of their new victories upon the minds of the French,

* Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 68.

we shall be able to estimate how far the recollection of this memorable war leaves the balance in favour of the conquerors, beyond the mere changes of territory which it may have occasioned. There is, indeed, no closing our eyes to the extent of the misfortunes entailed upon Europe by the projectors of the late coalition. We must not deceive ourselves. The house of Austria is completely humbled; she must receive the law, not from Vienna, but from Paris; she has sacrificed much; but more she must be prepared to surrender if required, rather than run the last of risks, that of a new war. Whatever the sacrifice demanded may be, she must make it—whether treasure, or alliances, or dignities, or territory, or what is worst of all, principles. If the enemy require her to join him in attacking Prussia, or turning against Russia, or sharing the plunder of Germany, or dividing and pillaging the Turk; she cannot now balance. *Agitur de imperio*. France has Italy and the Tyrol; the people of Austria are crushed; the

French are exalted and exulting. What though the treaty of Presburgh has bound them together by no secret articles, and that its public stipulations still leave to Austria the semblance of a great monarchy? Italy and the Tyrol are French, and the campaign of 1805, lives in the recollection of both French and Germans—Do we not know that the only extensive or durable conquests have been made gradually; that in treating with a humbled enemy, you raise him by exacting too harsh conditions; that the wisest policy is to take something, and by the present, to pave the way for future gains. One only chance of retaining even the name of independence, now remains to our unfortunate ally; she must listen no more to such counsellors as hurried her into the late alliance in spite of her better reason. By skill and steadiness she may possibly preserve some part of what is left, and improve it in peace. If she once more forsakes moderate counsels, she is undone.

Nor is it Austria alone that has suffered

by this unhappy coalition. The new victories of France; the actual aggrandisement of her empire; the subjection of her rival; and the dread of her invincible arms; have now rivetted the chains of the 'continent. No one ever supposed that the state of things as settled at the peace of Luneville, was to last longer than the necessities which made the different powers submit to the conditions then imposed. As soon as their strength should be recruited, and their sentiments united against the French yoke, we had a right to expect that attempts would be made to throw it off. Time, only—a prudent delay, and a judicious choice of the proper moment, was required to render such a resistance effectual. But all this prospect is now vanished; the chance is thrown away, and the only hope is gone which Holland, and Switzerland, and Italy had of once more knowing independence. Henceforth the object of these unhappy states must be not to oppose France, but to moderate, if possible, the violence of her oppressions. They have England to thank

for this reverse of prospects, and it is probably the last favour they will receive at her hands.

3. If from these effects of the late war upon the state of the continent, we turn to a view of its effects upon our own individual interests, we shall find, that we have suffered, as is most just, a great share of the common loss. Besides the injury which England ultimately receives from the disasters of the rest of Europe, she is more immediately affected by the aggrandizement of her enemy, from the increased danger of invasion to which it exposes her. The fate of the third coalition has in several ways augmented this danger; multiplying both the chances of the attempt being made, and increasing the probability of its success.

Nothing is more common than to hear thoughtless persons talk lightly of such dangers. They trust that the loyalty and courage of the country would carry it through greater perils than France has in store for us. The French have never yet

been engaged with a nation of Freemen. They would find us made of different materials from the Germans. They might over-run the country and take London; but London is not England, and they would soon be extirpated. Such well meaning persons seem even to be afraid least no attempt should be made; least they should not have an opportunity of conquering upon British ground. "Let the enemy come, say they, we desire nothing more, and not a man of his force shall escape." —But it is much to be feared that this zeal, so laudable in itself, "is without knowledge." With every disposition to exalt the valour of Britons, and to augur well of their efforts in defence of the greatest blessing which any people enjoy; we may be permitted to dread the event of a contest between courage and skill. Nor was the difference between the two ever so strongly marked as since the experience of the late campaign. It is no disrespect to our troops, and their commanders, to question whether their native talents are sufficient to supply

their want of experience, and to wish that, until measures are taken to improve them in their art, there may be no trial of generalship between them and the conductors of the late German campaign. That the country could be ultimately conquered, we cannot indeed for a moment allow ourselves to believe; but there are other evils attending an invasion, besides the greatest of all evils; there are injuries short of utter ruin which a nation may receive from it. We know nothing practically of war in this happy land: we have heard of its effects, and read of battles at a great distance; but we know it not from experience, and it is well we do not. Never was a country worse calculated for being the scene of military operations, for having the hazardous issue of war tried within its bounds. With its wealth, its crowded population, its multitude of artizans and traders, its paper circulation, its public debts, its commercial credit; with the various factitious qualities of a nice and complicated system of most artificial society;

and above all, without any experience whatever of a campaign on its own ground—how frightful to contemplate the mischiefs which so unusual a convulsion must occasion, admitting it should end in the total defeat of the invader ! It is clear, that no wise man will desire to see such an experiment tried, and that however it may end, the attempt would of itself be an enormous evil.

Now the risk of this pernicious attempt being made, is greatly augmented by the late defeats of our allies. Before the new coalition, the enemy, at whatever time he might attempt to execute his favourite project, had always to apprehend great danger, from his continental neighbours seizing the opportunity of his forces being occupied in England, and attacking him at a prodigious advantage. Every year that the attempt was delayed increased the magnitude of this risk ; and had he deferred it a few years longer, the certainty of the continent being recruited and ready to attack him, should he give them so fair an occasion,

would probably have made him finally abandon the scheme. But we have taken care to relieve him from all such embarrassment. He has now nothing to apprehend from continental wars. We have purchased a miserable respite from our alarms, (for in spite of our boasting we were the dupes of our fears) at the expence of whatever solid benefit we might have found in a coalition able to assist us at the moment of real danger. Another check upon the French government was, the fear of the odium which would have attended a failure in the threatened project. So great a source of hope was this consideration with some, that they believed it would for ever prevent the attempt. But this too is entirely at an end. The Swabian and Moravian campaigns have raised the French Chief so high in the eyes of his subjects—have given him such an unexpected accession of popularity, and so signally increased the fame of his arms, that he may now with perfect safety fry whatsoever his ambition or his caprices shall dictate. He may bury ano-

ther army in St. Domingo, or squander a hundred thousand lives in Ireland, or even risk their entire loss at sea for the chance of some part of the armament landing; all will be forgotten by a people so elated with recent triumph, or if remembered will be cheerfully forgiven to the conqueror of Austerlitz. Formerly, he dared not think of failing in the projected invasion; he could only contemplate its success. Now he may be content with taking his chance of conquering, and ensuring the certainty of injuring us. That he should make this attempt then, in every way so hurtful to our interests, is become infinitely more likely, since the wretched policy of England, by effecting the subjugation of her continental allies, and compleating the achievements of her enemy, removed the two great impediments which stood in his way.

It is equally manifest that the danger of this attempt proving successful, or at least the probable amount of the injury which we may receive from it, has been greatly

augmented by the unhappy fate of the Continent. Not only has the discomfiture of the coalition enabled France to embark a much larger proportion of her disposeable force in the enterprise; the recent successes of her arms must produce a very sensible effect on every man in her service. The confidence in their superiority which always animated French soldiers, is now greatly augmented; and they have to oppose men who know little of war, but what they have heard of in the history of the French conquests. The service of the late campaign too, was peculiarly well adapted to discipline new troops, and to increase the proportion of good soldiers in the whole army,

But while the result of our impolitic measures has thus strengthened in every respect the hands of the enemy, it is strange that we have ourselves entirely neglected the short interval of quiet which the continental war gave us. At its commencement, upwards of two years had elapsed since the British government were filled with the constant expectation of a

descent upon our coasts. Our military system was extremely imperfect, and the fear of all men was least the invasion should be attempted, before any material improvements could take place. We were indeed, "counting hours and minutes," till the enemy should land; and at this critical juncture, a respite is suddenly obtained by means of the campaign in Germany. The invasion is now necessarily delayed for half a year at least. Would not any one have conceived that such an interval was valuable beyond all price; that it gave us the very time so much wanted for the completion of our defensive preparations; that it might be the turn of the balance in our favour, when the attempt should at last be made. Yet strange to tell, this opportunity was utterly thrown away; our cabinet, as soon as the army left Boulogne, seem to have thought the whole project of invasion at an end; and never contemplating the possibility of the allies being once more beaten, they chose rather to remain spectators of the continental war, than to prepare for our

own battles, should it prove unfortunate. Their military system had been tried above a year, and might be said to have failed more egregiously than any plan that ever was devised. It had not during the whole of that period produced 1500 men in the whole island, and not five hundred of these for general service. The volunteer army, as it has been called, had relaxed in its most valuable quality of ardour and alacrity; and had been losing the only advantage which such a force can possess over regular troops, without making any sensible progress in discipline. The recruiting for the army was at a stand, and nothing whatever had been done to improve its constitution. Yet did the government allow the whole interval between the departure of the Boulogne army, and the dissolution of the late cabinet, to pass over without taking a single step for the general reform of our defensive measures, or even for the new modelling of that plan, which a fair trial had shewn to be nugatory in its original shape. They did not even assemble the parliament, with-

out whose interference no such improvements could be made. They avoided every thing which could have turned their impolicy in making the coalition, to the smallest account ; and persisted in rejecting the one solitary benefit which their new war might have produced, in compensation of so many calamities. Thus, after the best possible opportunity of augmenting the strength of the country, they have left it to their successors, feeble and confused, at the very crisis when the necessary consequences of their other measures are hurrying on its fate. With such an army, with our volunteers and our defence bill, with our regular forces weakened by the conflicting tendencies of the militia and reserve, with our volunteer system counteracting all the other branches, we are now left to contend alone against the undivided force of our enemy, and his allies. “ *Is autem valot exercitū, tenet multos spe et promissis, omnia omnium concupivit. Huic tradita urbs est, nulla presidiis, referta*

*copiis. Quid est quod ab eo non metuas, qui illa templa et tecta, non patriam sed prædam putet? Commissum quidem a nobis certe est, sive a nostro duce, ut, è portû sine gubernaculo egressi, tempestati nos traderemus.”**

Such are, in a general view, the lamentable effects of that foreign policy which we have minutely traced through its different errors, in the former part of this inquiry. We might have enumerated other evils, which have flowed from it both to Europe, and to our own individual interests. We might, for example, have stated the loss of character and influence which has attended so plain an exposure of our incapacity for continental affairs; the contempt into which our assistance has fallen with every ally, reduced as it now has been to the mere payment of money; the pains we have taken to make them underrate even those supplies which they were willing to receive, by pressing our gold upon all the

* Cic. Epist. Lib. vii.

world, and running from door to door, to beg it might be accepted; and above all, the odium which we have incurred with the less enlightened part of the continent, with the people in every foreign state, in whose eyes we have appeared only as instigators of war, and as corruptors of their rulers for their destruction. From the effects of these impressions our name will not soon recover, and we may rest assured that the Continent is at last heartily sick of our interference, and prepared to join with the enemy in his plan of excluding us from any voice in its affairs. But it was the less necessary to enter upon such topics, that they are naturally suggested by the previous discussions, and that they tend in no way to modify the picture formerly drawn of our affairs: for it is our misfortune that we look around in vain for any circumstances which may soften its features, while it is impossible to imagine any addition which can aggravate them.

III. STATE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, INDEPENDENT OF THE LATE COALITION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Although the effects of our last exertions on the Continent have almost entirely new modelled it, yet there are several particulars in its present state, which have not been directly influenced by the fate of the war, partly because they lay beyond the sphere of its operation, but chiefly because our former impolicy and mismanagement had done as much detriment as was possible, to our interests in those quarters. An inquiry into the state of our foreign affairs would be imperfect without some notice of these points.

I. The unfortunate circumstance of having Spain against us, and given up entirely to the alliance, or rather the service of our enemies, during the present war, is a consequence of the impolicy of the British cabinet, previous to the commencement of the late coalition. After our rup-

ture with France, and down to the formation of the late ministry, in May 1804, it clearly appears, that the dispositions of Spain towards this country, and against our enemy, were as favourable as could have been desired*. Our popularity was never so great, either with the Court of Madrid, with the confidential ministers of the crown, or with the nation at large. France, always disliked by the Spaniards, had become still more odious from her insolent and rapacious demands; and from the intemperate conduct of her representatives. The wishes of the Spanish cabinet accorded with those of the people, in leaning plainly towards an offensive alliance with England against France. But the state of our continental relations, and our inability to give Spain any effectual support in the dangers to which such a conduct must expose her, rendered it necessary for her to delay all measures leading to a rupture; and she submitted to a convention of

* Additional Spanish Papers, presented 2d. February, 1805.—No. II. to XX.

neutrality, by which she became bound to pay a considerable subsidy to the French government. To this the English cabinet consented as a temporary measure, "intended to give time till the disposition of the great powers of Europe should be more decidedly known."* That the subsidy was extorted from Spain, by the imminent fear of seeing a French army in Madrid; that the dispositions of Spain in our favour, and her enmity to France were increased by this compulsory submission, is clearly demonstrated by the dispatches of the British Envoy†. Of these dispositions we ought doubtless to have availed ourselves. We were engaged in planning the new coalition, nothing could be more important than to include Spain in such a league. Her position with respect to France, must always render her hostility extremely hurtful to that power. Her frontier on the Pyrennees is strong, and well

* Additional Spanish Papers, presented 2d. February, 1805—No. VII.

† Ibid. No. VIII.

defended by fortified places. The French frontier is only protected by Perpignan, and France has no way of removing the danger of an attack from Spain, but by attacking her in the first instance, and forcing her to conclude a separate peace. This would have been rendered impracticable by the preparations of the allies on the East side of the French territories; and a most important accession would thus have been gained to the measures of the offensive league. By the hostility of Spain, too, France would have lost the benefit of her subsidies, and the still greater advantage of that controul over her councils, which enabled her at any time to involve every branch of the Spanish monarchy in a war with her enemies. The allies would have secured the independence of Spain, while they profited by her assistance; and prevented the subjection of the whole of her resources to France, while they converted a just and moderate proportion of them to their own use. By going to war with Spain, they necessarily threw her into the

arms of France ; armed her whole force against themselves ; sacrificed the benefits of a commercial intercourse, the most lucrative and even necessary to their prosperity ; extended the sea-coast of the enemy from Bourdeaux round to Toulon ; increased his predominating influence in the Mediterranean ; and laid Portugal entirely at his mercy.

Yet this was the very line of conduct which the allies ; or rather which England, in the infancy of the alliance, chose to pursue. She delayed objecting to the Spanish subsidy until she should sound the dispositions of the other Powers. Those she found to be favourable, or at least she conceived that they warranted her in expecting a new coalition against France. Instead of delaying her objections to the subsidy a few weeks longer, and then offering Spain a place in the league, when she might declare herself with impunity, England demanded that she should produce the subsidiary convention, which every one knew she was bound to conceal, at the peril of an imme-

mediate war with France; and she made this bootless demand at a time when matters were not ripe for assisting her in such a war*. The pretext of armaments at Ferrol was mere trifling; they lasted exactly nine days, and were intended for quelling an insurrection in Biscay. But this pretence, with the refusal of Spain to produce the convention, were made the grounds of that unprecedented violation of justice, the capture of the frigates without any declaration of war; accompanied with circumstances of individual calamity, which have not failed to injure the English cause irreparably among the Spanish people.— Thus did our government sacrifice to the paltry object of a few cargoes of silver, its character; its prospects of assistance from Spain, at the moment when that assistance would have been most valuable; its hopes of weaning her entirely from French connexions; its expectations of the security derived from lessening our

* The point here at issue, was a mere matter of form; the tenor of the convention, was publicly known.

enemy's sea coast, and the advantages connected with the Spanish commerce; above all, its chance of continuing the high favour enjoyed by England in Spain, and the influence in her councils to which it must have led. One of two plans were clearly pointed out by the state of our relations with Spain; either we should have connived at her compulsory submission to France until we could protect her in resisting the French dominion, and added her to the new league; or, if unfortunately we preferred hostilities, we should have taken care to make the war as advantageous as possible, by liberating the Spanish colonies from the galling monopoly of the Mother Country, and opening a most profitable inlet for our commercial speculations. Neither of those schemes was adopted. With our accustomed ingenuity, we contrived to find a line of policy which should avoid the benefits, and combine the disadvantages of all the others. We managed to lose the alliance of Spain at present, and her friendship for

ever ; and at the same time gave up all chance of turning her hostility to our advantage. Her trade so beneficial to all the branches of our domestic industry, so essential to some of them, we abandoned for a few barrels of dollars. To prevent her from paying a subsidy to France, we incorporated her whole resources with those of our enemy ; and rather than allow a neutrality, which might give a trifling aid to him, we rushed into a kind of hostility which could procure no assistance for ourselves. The total alienation of Spain from our interests ; the ruin of our ancient popularity in that country ; the absolute subjection of her power to that of France ; has been the price paid for our acquisitions of silver bullion ; and next to the evils produced by the new coalition, this is the most serious misfortune which her fatal impolicy has brought upon the continental affairs of England.

2. If we cast our eyes on the other states, who are confederates, or rather depen-

dants of France, we shall find that the hopes of their deserting her, or attempting to throw off the yoke, with the assistance of England and her allies, are slender indeed. Partly from circumstances never within our controul, and partly, no doubt, from our former impolicy, those countries are as firmly united in fate with our enemy, as if they formed integral parts of his extensive dominions.

Holland has always been regarded as the natural ally of this country. Her proximity to France, and consequent exposure to the power of that formidable neighbour; her commercial relations, the nature of her civil and religious establishments, and the character of her people, have been esteemed, in the better times of European affairs, a sufficient pledge of her inclination to connect her interests with the cause of Great Britain. Accordingly, except during the impolitic alliance of Charles II. with France, and the no less unwise enmity of the Dutch towards us in the American war, Holland has uniformly been our firm ally in all our dis-

putes with France, and our cause has never failed to gain by the connexion. But since the Dutch Revolution, this alliance has been entirely dissolved. The arms of France having over-run the Netherlands, soon established the French power in Holland. The government, the armies and fleets, the trade and the revenues of that rich and populous country, have been delivered over to our enemy, not by an offensive and defensive alliance, but by an entire conquest and subsequent acknowledgment of the yoke. From this important increase of the French power, have arisen many serious accessions to the dangers to which it exposes us. A great extent of sea-coast; a numerous body of men accustomed to maritime affairs, and eminently skilled in the navigation of the North Sea; a commercial navy, next to our own, the greatest in the world—these are but a few of the advantages which France has derived from Holland, and may turn against us in her projected attack upon our European dominions.

But many well-informed persons have imagined that the Dutch are discontented with their yoke; that they earnestly desire an opportunity of regaining their independence; and that these dispositions would both insure the success of any attempts to assist them, in freeing themselves from French influence, and deprive France of any material benefit from their services in her attempts upon England. It cannot be doubted that such hopes as these are altogether vain—that they are founded upon a mistake of the Dutch character, and upon gross exaggerations of the French policy towards Holland. A country, in the circumstances of Holland, depending entirely upon commerce for its wealth, and for its support; crowded beyond all others with a population of industrious and skilful inhabitants; covered with warehouses, manufactories, canals, docks, wharfs, and all the other acquisitions of ingenuity and labour; its very land saved from the sea by monuments of their perseverance, through a long course of ages;

its vast accumulation of riches depending entirely upon the preservation of order, and the safety of commercial credit among its citizens—such a country must always dread a change as the greatest of evils; must prefer the certainty of being indifferently well, to the chance of being better, coupled with the risk of being worse; and of all revolutions must fear those the most which may involve it in the calamities and the uncertainties of domestic warfare. An invasion, or a civil war in England, would indeed be dreadful, whatever event it might have; but Holland is in all respects less fitted for sustaining such a shock; and the Dutch are not so dull to their interests or their dangers as some persons formerly alluded to in this country; for no man in the United Provinces will be found hardy enough to contemplate an invasion as matter of exultation, or even of indifference, however sure he may be of its leading to the emancipation of his country, and however zealous to see her once more independent.

Much will be borne of real loss, and much more of degradation and insult, by every Dutch patriot, before he will rashly consent to hazard the existence of Holland in the most promising schemes for her liberation. Whatever may be the prospect of succeeding in such attempts, he will judge, and wisely judge, that the maintenance of things in their present state, is preferable to the certainty of their being improved, when that certainty must be purchased by the complicated evils of a war in the heart of the Republic. It is the nature of commerce to dread revolution and war as the last of dangers; and the Dutch depend too much upon their trade, to put honour or glory in competition with it. These considerations may, in part, account for the cold reception which our attempts to free Holland from the French yoke have hitherto met with; and may explain the reason of our being unpopular in a country formerly so much attached to us, merely because we have endeavoured to save it from op-

pression. In truth, however little the Dutch may like their French masters, and however much they may regret the changes of dominion which have altered their alliances, there is one thing which they must always dislike still more strongly than the yoke of France itself, and that is the struggle which is necessary to shake it off. We, who have forced them to undertake this struggle, by carrying the war, uninvited, into their territories, and who are always suspected of still retaining the same intentions, are not treated as real friends to their interests; and though they would not hesitate for one moment in preferring our dominion to an alliance on equal terms with France, were the original choice in their power, yet now that the French have subdued them, they have as little hesitation in preferring their present masters to those who would annoy them with attempting their emancipation.

But, in fact, the accounts of the Dutch oppressions are greatly exaggerated. Many capitalists have been ruined and forced to

emigrate. Many persons have had their wealth diminished, and the whole riches of the state are greatly impaired ; but the profits which are still drawn upon the remaining stock are necessarily higher, and this of itself tends to alleviate the burthens of the capitalists who are left behind. The French have wisely confined their plunder of the state to public exactions ; they have not, as in Italy, (where the Directory never intended to establish a permanent dominion), allowed the individuals of their armies to pillage the country at large. Contributions have been levied, but not by the conqueror from the people. The government have been required to furnish so much money, or support so many troops, and have been left to devise the means of raising those supplies, and to enforce their measures in their own way. It need hardly be remarked, how much lighter it is for a people to pay a very large tribute in this regular manner, than to be robbed in a disorderly way, of the smallest sum, by the licence of individuals. If any proof

were required, we might notice the violence of the hatred borne towards the French all over Italy, contrasted with the moderate dislike in which they are held by the Hollanders ; though no one can believe that the Italians lost nearly so much by the invasion of their country, or that the Dutch have less regard for their property.

It deserves further to be remarked, that the wars with England, in which the revolution has engaged the Dutch, however injurious to their commerce, have greatly enriched their colonies by the prodigious influx of British capital, which has uniformly attended their falling into our hands ; and among the branches of the community most likely to feel the weight of their subjection to France, the most important is Amsterdam, which, from ancient antipathy to the Stadtholder's party, would at all times have embraced any alternative for the certainty of ruining his power. If to all these considerations, we add the utter despair with which the Dutch are filled, of ever seeing their country re-established

in its independence, whatever attempts they may make for it, so long as Belgium is in the hands of France, and their conviction that the time is yet far off when any change of affairs may reduce the French power; we shall be satisfied that they are indeed lamentably deceived, who cherish the hope of assistance from the Dutch, in driving the French out of Holland, or even of maintaining the popularity and influence of the English name, among a people who reflect on our exertions in their affairs, as on so many injuries to their prosperity. We must, therefore, make up our minds to the uncomfortable prospect of Holland remaining intirely and inactively subject to our enemy and averse to us, until changes shall have been wrought in the face of affairs, which it would be idle to guess at, and pernicious to reckon upon.

The fate of Switzerland was by no means so unpromising as that of Holland, before the last campaign. How completely the changes produced by that dreadful

contest have given up the Swiss to the dominion of France, has been already demonstrated. The most short-sighted of all policy in England, or her allies, would now be to think of agitating that unhappy country with any further hopes of regaining its liberties, by new struggles against France. Were the Swiss thoroughly united together as one man, and resolved to resist the power of the masters who now surround them on every side, nothing could be expected from their efforts, but new scenes of bloodshed, and an intolerable augmentation of their burthens. While France possesses Savoy and Piedmont, and while Swabia and the Tyrol belong to her dependants who exist during her pleasure, as by her pleasure they were created; all the exertions which the Swiss can make, is inadequate to prevent them from being overwhelmed, long before any allies could break through the strong French provinces that surround them, and come to their assistance. The Cisalpine, and the petty states in Germany, are, if pos-

sible, still more dependent on France. Their disposition to revolt unhappily signifies nothing. For a long course of years they must submit in silence, however well inclined to rebel; and the worst service that the well-wishers of European independence could render them, would be to stir up any premature attempt at effecting their deliverance. We may rest assured then, that the petty states by whom France has surrounded herself, as well as the more powerful dominions which she has succeeded in subduing, are firmly united to her fortunes, some by their weakness, others by their disinclination to exert their strength in a way which they deem hurtful to their interests; that from Holland to Switzerland, and from Switzerland to Turkey, she has covered a frontier almost every where strong by nature, with dependent nations, whom there is no chance of our seeing revolt, and who will always bear the first shock of a war waged against her, if they do not actively assist in her offensive operations. What remains for the

rest of Europe to undertake, in its own behalf, may not be very easily discovered: but nothing can be more plain than the course of policy which should, at the present juncture, be avoided—the vain attempt to force those subject nations into new and ruinous efforts at regaining their independence.

3. If from a view of the dependencies of France, we turn to the contemplation of that prodigious empire itself, we shall find as little to cheer our prospects of the future fates of the European commonwealth. The resources which she draws from Spain, Italy, Germany, and Holland; are trivial when compared with the mass of real and rapidly increasing power by which she has added those states to her dominions. A population of above thirty-two millions; a revenue of twenty-five millions sterling, in spite of the ruin of her commerce, with a diminution of only three millions and a half for the interest of debt, notwithstanding the wars she has been engaged in; a regular army of five hundred

and fifty thousand men, known in almost every corner of Europe by the rapidity of their conquests, and commanded by the first generals in the world ; a force not less formidable, of men whose skill in negotiation has completed the victories of her troops ; a spirit, the most turbulent and restless, the most impatient of peace, and fearless of war, animating all ranks of her people, and produced, in a great degree, by the long continued hostility of all her neighbours—these form together a foundation of military superiority, sufficient to alarm more powerful states than any that yet remain in her neighbourhood.

But a change has within these few years taken place, in the constitution of the French nation, still more formidable in its natural consequences to the tranquillity and prosperity of Europe, than any of those well known particulars which we have just now enumerated. We allude to the system of military conscription, by which their forces are now recruited, which has slowly grown up with the revolutionary govern-

ment, which has of late been carried into complete effect all over the country, and now forms a part of the establishment, likely to mingle itself in a short time with all the views and habits of the people, and scarcely to occasion more inconvenience or discontent, than the milder expedients of the militia law do in this island. This conscription affects all ranks of the community; every man in France, with a very few exceptions in favour of certain public functionaries, is a soldier from the age of twenty to twenty-five, not merely by enrolment as in Austria and Prussia, but in actual service; whatever be his rank or his fortune, or his pursuits in life, he must give up every other view as soon as he reaches his twentieth year, and devote his life for five years to the profession of arms alone. As there are no exemptions, unless in cases of former service, a substitute cannot be procured under an enormous sum, frequently so high as 700*l.* sterling, never lower than 400*l.* and if more than a very

small number required substitutes, it would be altogether impossible to procure them : so that in fact there are scarce any exceptions to the rule of strict personal service. The rigour of the police established all over France renders it quite impossible for any one within the specified years to escape. In every quarter the *gendarmérie* have authority to arrest all the young men whom they can find, and detain them until they can prove themselves to be exempt from the conscription. The people are now learning to submit quietly to their fate, and with the happy levity of their national character, try to make the military life agreeable. The pay is extremely small ; but the rich and poor all live together, and the former contribute to improve the common fare. Every one endeavours in the first place to make himself master of the military art, in order to qualify him for being promoted ; officers are chosen from the ranks without any regard to birth or fortune ; the emulation and interest of the common soldiers

are kept up by their chance of promotion, and by the voice which they are allowed, to a certain degree, in the choice of their officers. The Imperial guard, which has many privileges, and is composed of persons possessing a certain fortune, constitutes a species of aristocracy of extensive influence in this system. The military schools, the only branch of public instruction which is much attended to, secure the constant supply of the higher branches of the science; and the excellent organization of the *Etat-Major General*, to which the victories of the French arms are perhaps more owing than to any other improvement in their military affairs, keeps alive during peace the practice of their scientific acquirements, while it prepares the most valuable collection of practical information, so essential to the success of warlike operations. Add to this that the great offices of the state are all in the hands of military men; that honours as well as power and wealth are almost confined to this favoured order; and that all places of trust, from the command of armies to the

management of negotiations, are their patrimony.

Thus, we find, that it is no exaggeration, no metaphorical language to denominate France a great military empire ; to say that the government now calls forth the whole resources of the state, and that every Frenchman is literally a soldier. Nothing like this has ever appeared since the early days of the Roman people. The feudal militia had not the same regularity, the same science and discipline. The insurrection of Hungary, the rising *en masse* of Switzerland and America, were all confined to particular emergencies. The national guards and first conscriptions of France herself, which approach nearer to the new order of things, were still far inferior to it in systematic arrangement and extent of operation ; yet by their aid, imperfect as they were in the comparison, she gained all that she had conquered previous to the last campaign. But her present system is in truth, a terrible spectacle. The most numerous and ingenious people in the world have abandoned the arts of peace, not for

their defence, but after having conquered all the nations around them: They have betaken themselves to the military life as their main pursuit, almost their exclusive occupation, not from impatience of a long continued quiet, but at the end of various revolutions and a series of the most destructive wars. With a government purely military, a stock of science peculiarly adapted to the same pursuits, and a species of wealth not likely to be immediately ruined by such a change, they have established a regular system of discipline, which draws every arm into the service of the country, and renders the whole surface of the most compact, extensive, and best situated country in Europe, one vast camp, swarming with the finest soldiers—

- “ Ubi fas verum atque nefas: tot bella per orbem:
 “ Tam multæ scelerum facies: non ullus aratro
 “ Dignus honos. Squalent abductis arva colonis,
 “ Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.
 “ Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania, bellum:
 “ Vicinæ ruptis inter se legibus urbes
 “ Arma ferunt: sævit toto Mars impius orbe.

VIRG. GEORG.

4. So formidable being the aspect of France, both from her federal relations and from her own internal resources, let us turn our attention towards the situation of the powers yet unsubdued by her arms; to Austria, Russia, and Prussia, who, though by no means beyond her controul, are, however, still in appearance independent. That the resources of Austria are naturally most splendid, cannot be denied. If her external commerce were more extensive, or even the general policy towards her provinces more enlightened, she might still view the strength of France without dismay. The extent and natural fertility of the countries already subject to her, renders any acquisition of new territory on the side of Turkey a vain and unprofitable injustice. While she possesses Bohemia, Gallicia, and above all Hungary; while those noble kingdoms remain almost in a state of nature, and so neglected, made her before her late disasters one of the first powers in Europe—what folly could be so great as to seek for new countries, and

persist in neglecting her ancient possessions? To explain the various measures by which she has already, not merely neglected, but stunted the growth of her hereditary provinces, would form a volume, by no means uninteresting to the political economist, who wishes to contemplate the errors of statesmen; or the practical politician, who would be warned by the example of his predecessors. We shall confine ourselves to the statement of a few particulars, which may serve to shew in how lamentable a situation the resources of the Monarchy are, and how vain all new exertions against France must prove, until time shall have been given for their gradual improvement by the adoption of a wiser system.

In some parts of the Monarchy the peasants are a great deal too much oppressed by their landlords; in others they pay too small a rent, and the land is in consequence neglected. Thus in Austria and part of Styria, the feudal services were commuted for a certain fixed sum yearly,

above thirty years ago; it was reckoned too small a compensation then, and now it is almost a nominal rent. In Hungary, on the other hand, the abolition of villenage has been legally effected by the famous *Urbarium* of Maria Teresa; but the lords retain in practice, especially in the remoter parts, a most exorbitant power over their vassals.—All over the monarchy, except in Hungary, the system of military enrolment presses very severely upon the people; every person, not noble, or exempted by his office, is liable to serve; if a person leaves the country and returns at any distance of time, he is stopped in his passage through it, and sent to the army because he had missed his turn of service during his absence. When Joseph II. wished to encourage settlers in Poland from other parts of Europe, he thought he gave them a great exemption by promising the fathers of families and their eldest sons a freedom from military service.—The crown not only carries on, upon its own account, a great variety of extensive, (it

is needless to add) ruinous speculations in trade and manufactures ; it has also some of the most oppressive monopolies, of useful or necessary articles. In the towns a licence must be bought to sell almost every article of commerce ; and for entering a new line of business a high price must be paid.—Except in Styria and Galicia, salt is every where a Royal monopoly ; and except in Hungary, tobacco is strictly subjected to the same oppressive restriction. The effect of these monopolies on the prosperity of the state, and their trifling utility to the revenue, may be estimated from the price to which they raise the articles in question, and the amount of net income which they yield the crown. The fossil salt, which forms nine tenths of the consumption in Hungary, and is yielded in such abundance, that in the neighbourhood of the mines, it costs but twopence a hundred weight to the crown, costs in the market nearly forty times as much, or about six shillings and sixpence. The

yearly consumption of this article in Hungary exceeds a million of hundred weight; yet this oppressive monopoly yields the crown no more than 200,000*l.* a year.

The effects of the monopoly of tobacco are nearly similar; but we may judge more accurately of them by remarking, that in Hungary, where it does not exist, the best tobacco is sold ten times cheaper than the vile tobaccos of Austria and Bohemia, are in those provinces * ; and that when the whole profit of the monopoly was farmed,

* Tobacco, on the Hungarian frontier, is not seized; but the person attempting to bring it into Austria is fined above two hundred times the price of it; and the search for tobacco is accordingly as strict as for diamonds at the mines of the East Indies. Foreign tobacco may be imported for use on paying 60 per cent. duty, but not for sale. All the manufacture and sale, without exception, is carried on upon Royal account. The degree in which Hungary is oppressed by these strange regulations, may be estimated from this, that she only exports annually 70,000*l.* worth of tobacco, all of which goes to the Emperor's account. The Austrians use much more of that herb than the French, and yet the total importation of tobacco into France, used, before the revolution, to exceed ten times that sum.

it yielded only 150,000*l.*—Hungary, indeed, the finest of all the provinces, and sufficient, if well managed, to render Austria the richest country in Europe, is studiously oppressed, because its free constitution prevents the crown from laying on arbitrary imposts, and monopolizing all its produce. In revenge, its tobacco is prevented from being exported (except on royal account) under the severest penalties. Its excellent wines are oppressed with duties, amounting almost to prohibitions, in order to encourage the undrinkable produce of the Austrian vineyards; but those duties are exacted even in countries where no Austrian wine ever reached, as in Croatia. Even the grains which cannot bear the expence of carriage to Fiume, if brought round through the other provinces, are loaded with the heaviest duties, and the merchant annoyed with regulations still more vexatious. To conclude this melancholy picture of impolitic conduct; the same jealousy of the people which delivered up the Tyrol to the enemy last war,

prevails with respect to the peasantry of Carinthia and Styria, in spite of past experience, in spite even of the success which attended a just confidence in the people of the frontier towards Turkey, who, since the earlier times, have been freed from vassalage, and embodied as a feudal militia. —If, to these examples of the impolicy which has weakened Austria, we add her perseverance in an inadequate military system, always ill devised, but least of all calculated to oppose the light troops and young officers of France; and the unfortunate confusion which prevails in her finances, partly from bad management of the revenue, partly from an excessive issue of paper, and the want of any bank beyond the controul of government, and partly from the signal marks of bad faith which have at different times, so late even as 1805*, been given to the public creditor ;

* The discount of the paper, which formed the only currency, was, during peace, from 28 to 32 per cent. and during war much greater. The credit of the Government suffered extremely from the unfair treatment of the subscribers to the Franckfort Loan, in January 1805.

we shall be prepared to judge, whether any hope can yet be placed in the speedy efforts of Austria against France—whether the wit of man can figure a season more calculated for repose, or worse adapted to the smallest movement of a warlike nature.

Having proved beyond dispute that Austria, from the natural weakness of her resources, independently of her late misfortunes, is for the present quite incapacitated from going to war with France; it is not necessary to stop long in order to consider the resources of her neighbours. Without her assistance, it is manifest that no project for the restraint of French encroachments can be one moment entertained; and were Russia as powerful as is vulgarly supposed, and Prussia as solid in her general strength as she appears to be strong from her excellent army; still it would be the extreme of infatuation to think of leaguering them in the common cause, alone. Yet it may not be useless to remark, that the resources of both these powers are commonly overrated. Russia possesses, indeed, an immense

empire, if we only view its extent, and the absolute numbers of her inhabitants; but that something in the situation of affairs prevents her from calling forth a large proportion of these, is sufficiently proved by the comparatively small armies which she has ever been able to send abroad. With the most noble and disinterested inclinations to support the common cause, his Imperial Majesty has not sent, by any means, such armies into the field as the Emperor of Germany, whom we are accustomed to think a much less powerful ally. There has been, too, a serious defect of talents, and chiefly of prudence, the best of talents in a statesman, among the Russian counsellors. Prussia, it may also be remarked, has a scattered territory, feeble commercial resources, and in some parts a discontented population. Her Polish provinces, like those of Austria, are sources of constant anxiety. Russia alone, of the three partitioning powers, has a secure hold of her share; and, without running any risk herself, may at any time create a revolt in either of the other por-

tions. If this gives her some influence over her two neighbours, it also tends to alienate them from her friendship, by keeping their jealousy always awake. Nor can there be a doubt, that Prussia in particular, is generally less inclined towards Russia than towards France herself*. But, in truth, the mutual dissensions of these three great powers, upon various grounds, are of too long standing to leave us any hopes, that a cordial union of them all can be formed for the defence of Europe, before time is given to adopt a conciliatory system, and to sink past differences in oblivion. At present their disunion forms the best security of the enemy. Were France, contrary to all present appearance, to shew symptoms of decline; were her strength to fail suddenly, and her approaching dissolution to afford hopes to her enemies that the crisis of European subjection was arrived; still she might trust for safety in those discords which the hand

* Since the two first editions of this Inquiry were printed, a fatal confirmation of this prediction has been exhibited in the conduct of Prussia.

of time had not yet healed ; and looking at the three powers whose relations and resources we have just now been contemplating, the favourite of fortune might justly exclaim with the Roman patriot in the decline of his country, "*Maneat quæso duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui; quando ur-gentibus imperii fatis, nihil jam præstare fortuna majus potest quam hostium discordiam* *."

5. Having taken a general survey of the present state of our enemy, of his allies, and of those powers which are upon the whole friendly to us ; it may be proper, before concluding this branch of the subject, to consider the relations of England with the few powers which have preserved a strict neutrality in the present unfortunate contest, more particularly with the United States of America—the chief, indeed the only considerable nation of this description.

* Tacit. De Mor. Germ.

It is the uniform consequence of a long continued war between the principal states of Europe, that the nations which take no part in the dispute, are employed to carry on much of the commerce of the belligerent countries, with the permission of all parties, and that they also engage in branches of trade which those belligerents wish, if possible, to prohibit. When France and England, for example, are at war, the custom of privateering, or in general of permitting the vessels of the state to capture merchantmen, renders it dangerous for the English and French traders to sail as often as during peace; and much of the business which they used to carry on must be transferred to the neutral merchants, the Danes or Americans. The mere interruption of direct intercourse between the belligerents, imposes the necessity of admitting neutrals to the trade which they used to carry on together, and to the trade which each used to carry on between the other, and third parties. The admission of neutrals to the former branch of

commerce, has seldom been objected to, except during the heat of national animosity, and even then the objection was directed, not against the neutral, but against the other belligerent. The admission of neutrals to the latter branch of commerce, the carrying trade of the one belligerent between the other and third parties, has been restricted by certain rules, tending to prevent the neutral from directly assisting the belligerent in his hostile operations. These rules have prohibited the neutral from dealing with the belligerent, in articles immediately subservient to military operations, or as they have thence been denominated *contraband of war*. In order to enforce this law, a right of searching neutral traders at sea has been claimed by belligerent powers, and on some remarkable occasions, submitted to by the government of the neutral nation. None of these points are at present an object of discussion. Neither the right of search nor the prohibition of contraband, nor the power of blockade, have for some time

past been called in question. But a branch of ordinary commerce has, during the course of the present war, passed into the hands of neutrals, so important from its extent and so unequally beneficial to the belligerents, from its being confined chiefly to the weaker party, that a disposition has appeared in the councils of the stronger party to dispute the neutral right.

In no maritime war before the present has it happened, that the superiority of one party was so decisive as to deprive the other of every chance of keeping the sea. England may generally have had the better, her fleets may have gained signal advantages, and her cruizers or privateers have annoyed the enemy's trade. But still France was not so crippled as to lose all chance of protecting her commerce. She was not so completely beset as to view a voyage and a capture with the same apprehensions. Accordingly her merchants ran the risk, which was not enormous; and continued to freight vessels for foreign ports, or to bring home their colonial pro-

duce, with the chance, but not the certainty of their being taken. Some part of this commerce fell into the hands of neutral traders; some part was carried on fraudulently under the cover of the neutral flag: but the risk was not sufficient to make the merchant give up the profit of direct traffic on his own account, with vessels and crews, and flag of his own country. But the unexampled increase of the English marine, and the almost total ruin of the French navy during the last and present wars, have augmented the risk of capture to the French trader so greatly, that he can no longer undergo it, and must be content to give up much of his traffic to neutrals, and endeavour to screen the rest by fraudulent devices. The unprecedented length of the last war, too, and the renewal of hostilities after so short an interval of peace, has increased still further the inducement, or rather the necessity of employing neutral nations, in the commerce formerly carried on by the belligerent alone. For a few years of war the privation of certain articles

of necessity or luxury may be endured ; but this becomes at length intolerable, and overcomes every restraint which either government or the opposing interests of traders can create. Those traders themselves, too, when a war has lasted long, gradually shift their capital into new channels, and withdraw more and more from the hazardous speculations, in which, during a short period of hostility, they might be contented or compelled to continue. The lines of employment which they thus leave, become, in consequence, open to neutrals, who now carry on the various branches of foreign trade, from which they were formerly excluded. Thus it has happened from the combined effects of our astonishing naval superiority, and the unprecedented length of the war, that almost all the foreign commerce of France, and a large proportion even of the coasting trade, have fallen into the hands of neutral nations, and particularly of the Americans, who have the greatest facilities of maritime carriage, and the most rising commercial sys-

tem. Among other branches of the French commerce now engrossed by American traders, with the permission of both governments, is that of the colonies. As this trade, during peace, was subject to the strict rules of the Navigation Law, common to all the maritime powers of Europe, a peculiar objection has been taken to its being suddenly laid open by the enemy to neutrals during war, for the evident purpose of screening it from our just hostility. And this interference of the Americans, in order to assist such a scheme, has been supposed inconsistent with the relations of neutrality which their nation professes to maintain.

It is in vain, the supporters of the belligerent rights contend, that England conquers the French marine, nay, reduces it almost to annihilation. Her ships of war may be captured, but the commerce of France is safe. She may declare war when she pleases; and without a ship that can make head to our weakest cruizer, she has a sure method of at once protecting

her whole trade, more certainly than if she had the entire command of the seas. She has but to suspend her Navigation Law, to admit the Americans into her colonial and coasting trade, and to fit out no vessel for sea under French colours. The English cruizers may domineer over the seas, and yet they are unable to touch a ton of her trade. She has millions floating on the vessels of neutral nations, which no enemy can reach. She reaps the whole benefits of commerce and of colonies without the risks of capture or detention. She may fit out nothing but privateers or cruizers to attack our trade, and distress our colonies, while her own are beyond the efforts of our armed vessels. She unites the whole benefits of war with all the security of peace. The rule, it is contended, which should guide us in this question, as the fairest measure of justice to all parties, is, that neutrals can only take part during war, in such branches of commerce as the domestic regulations of the belligerent allowed them to partake in during peace. This doctrine

was recognised, we are told, in the war of 1756, and has never since been disputed, though England has frequently departed from its rigour by voluntary concessions. Its policy is as obvious as its justice, say the enemies of the neutral claims. Were the present principle of unlimited neutral trade to be recognized, England might give over every pretension to naval power, abandon the hope of curbing French commerce, and despair at once of gaining any thing by a continuance even of the justest war. Should the support of our maritime rights lead to a rupture with the neutrals, which, however, is said to be most improbable, we can lose little by such an addition to the number of our enemies, in comparison of the vast detriment which we now sustain, from those neutrals tying up our hands against all the enemies we have to contend with. Better, say they, have America as well as France hostile, and exposed to our fair attacks, than France openly hostile, and America covertly protecting her from every effort of our

enmity. This will give us a chance of speedily terminating the war, or at least secure the opportunity of rendering it both safe and lucrative.

Such is the main body of the argument, in favour of the justice as well as the policy of our reviving the rule of the war 1756. The chief point at issue is the application of that rule to the colonial trade of the enemy; and, without at all entering into the question of right, we shall proceed to offer a few simple considerations, which may tend to shew that the view of the case, in point of policy, taken by the supporters of the above doctrine, is by no means a correct one, and that the importance of the whole matter at issue in the dispute has been enormously exaggerated. The following observations proceed upon the further admission, that the facts stated by the advocates of belligerent rights are accurately given, and also that wherever a neutral flag is assumed as a cover to the ship and cargo of a belligerent power, so evident a fraud is excepted from the argument. The points

to be maintained are, that, whatever right England may have to prevent the interference of America in the French colonial trade during war, no material advantage could be gained from the enforcement of such a prohibition; that the real difference between the former and the present method of carrying French colonial produce, and supplying the French colonies, is extremely trifling in its ultimate consequences; and that other reasons of a very positive nature enjoin a departure from such claims in the present situation of affairs.

To prevent a supply of colonial produce from reaching France, if not directly, at least by a roundabout importation, exceeds the power of the British navy, numerous and victorious as it is. Unless we can surround every port of the French coast with ships, and the land frontiers also with troops; and unless we are still further resolved to prohibit neutral nations from trading with France in their own merchandize, or in merchandize of our colonies, the French people must

continue to be supplied with sugar and coffee, whether we are at war with them or not. If we prevent those articles from being carried directly to France from her colonies, a small increase of the price will enable neutrals to import them into their own countries, and then re-export them to France. If we maintain that the mere importation and re-exportation, though accompanied with re-landing of cargoes and payment of duties, is still a collusive transaction, and must be prohibited, as a continuation of the original voyage; then a further increase of price enables the same produce to reach France in different vessels, while the vessels that imported it take other freights. We in fact only oblige the neutrals to have two sets of vessels, one employed between the French colonies and America, the other between America and France. The total gain of England upon these prohibitory operations, is the causing Frenchmen to drink their coffee some sous a pound dearer, which is a most pitiful advantage to us;

and creating inconvenience to America, which is no advantage at all.

But suppose we go a step further, and prevent the Americans from exporting the French colony produce at all, upon the plea that this trade was not open to them during peace; let us consider what consequences will follow. One of three things must happen if such a prohibition is rigorously enforced; either the French will be compelled to carry their produce in their own ships—or the English will be allowed to purchase it, and then sell it to neutrals in Europe, who will carry it to France—or the produce will be condemned to remain in the colonies. If the French venture at first to freight their own vessels with the produce, the British cruizers will infallibly take them, or at least the risk of capture, which made the French throw open this traffic to neutrals, will continue to be so enormous, that neither the planter nor the merchant can afford it. This expedient will therefore speedily be abandoned. If the English traders are allowed to purchase and carry the pro-

duce, it may be remarked, that such a proceeding, such an intercourse with the enemy, would be contrary to all the general rules of war, and would be a compromise of our character for the gain of the trade. But, after all, what great national end would be gained by such a commerce? The French would pay somewhat higher for the produce than if neutrals carried it; and a few English merchants would gain a certain commission upon the sale of it. The capital required to carry on this new and suddenly created branch of trade, would leave other branches in which it had formerly been employed; and those branches would be filled by the capital of neutral nations. At a peace, a new change would be necessary, the capital must partly shift back again, and must in part be thrown out of employment altogether. Such changes are rather upon the whole hurtful than beneficial in a general view. Lastly, if the produce of the French colonies is prevented from being exported, it must rot there, and the colonies must be ruined; the supplies

of provisions must fail ; the work of the plantations be suspended ; the Negroes revolt, and the whole be involved in ruin. Besides the cruelty of a plan which would expose to ruin and massacre, individuals whose misfortunes would have little influence on the policy of France ; besides its total repugnance to the practice of civilized warfare, which never attacks private property except at sea ; the evils of this system would be shared by ourselves, not only from the loss of customers, which we should feel when so much wealth and industry was destroyed in the country of our nearest neighbours, but also from the incalculable dangers of having scenes of rebellion and confusion in the immediate vicinity of our finest colonies. The plan therefore of preventing all exportation of French colonial produce, though the only consistent one in those who attack neutral rights, and the point to which all their support of the rule of the war 1756 necessarily leads them, is clearly objectionable on the most established principles, both of policy and justice.

There is, moreover, a very essential distinction to be made, between the ordinary branches of trade and that commerce which is employed in transporting the produce of the colonies to the mother country ; which is rather the remittance of their rents to the great body of non-resident proprietors, than the exchange of colonial for European commodities. If Guadaloupe or Cuba were countries unconnected with France and Spain, except by the intercourse of traffic; if no further relation subsisted between them, than that the West Indian territories produced commodities, which the European nations required, and must either purchase directly, or procure by a roundabout commerce—then it might be of some importance, according to the views with which maritime war is now carried on, for England to harass this branch of Spanish and French trade, and to profit by taking it into her own hands. The people of Cuba and Guadaloupe would then be paid for their produce by English merchants, and France and Spain would be obliged to buy them circuitously from England. But

this is by no means the nature of the navigation between those islands and Europe. The proprietors of the colonies reside almost entirely in the mother countries. The carriage of West Indian produce, is not on account of merchants, who are to sell it again after having bought it in the colony, but on account of absent landholders, who have no other way of receiving their rents but by having the produce of their estates brought over to them. They live not at their farm, but at the market; and their income is transmitted in goods, which they there dispose of.

Now by intercepting this communication, what would England effect? She cannot intend to stop it altogether, to prevent the colonial agents from sending any of their revenue to the proprietors, or to intercept it on the way. This would be a kind of warfare quite contrary to the spirit of modern customs; it would be more hurtful to individuals than the entire capture of the colonies where their estates lie, for in that case the conquerors never interfere with private property, and only

carry the rents of the planter round for them by a channel somewhat more circuitous. England, then, by interfering in the remittance of those rents, without capturing the enemy's colonies, can only mean to trade with the planters, to purchase the produce, and bring it home, where it will be sold again, and reach at last the consumer in the enemy's country, while the agents of the proprietors remit their rents, not in kind, but in money or bills. The same effect will be produced, if, instead of buying the produce, we only cause it to be consigned to English merchants, who, for a certain commission, sell it, and account to the planter or his agents. In either case, the colonial proprietor loses absolutely nothing. His produce is carried by English, instead of French or American merchants; the freight cannot be much greater; the commission will probably be less; he is paid by bills upon London or Liverpool, instead of Bourdeaux or Nantes, or New York; and a few mercantile houses in England gain a profit upon the consign-

ment instead of the same number of French or American houses. Surely it is neither for the gains of these individuals, nor for the sake of effecting such a change as this upon the wealth of French colonial proprietors, that we are to insist on the exclusion of neutrals from the colony trade of our enemies. We injure the enemy sufficiently by forcing those neutrals to carry the produce round by their own ports, instead of allowing it to be transported directly from the colony to the mother country, as during peace. This may raise the price of the goods to the consumer in the enemy's country; to the planter, who is most interested in the traffic, we can do no injury whatever, unless we can take the colonies where his estate lies, and then choose to violate the rights of individual proprietors; or until we discover a method of compelling people to ship cargoes in vessels which are absolutely certain of being captured.

If we can only look calmly at the whole bearings of this question, we shall discover

that the advantages which the enemy derives from the assistance of neutrals in carrying on his colonial remittances, and all the other branches of his distant commerce, are by no means unmixed with serious injuries to his prosperity, and that the neutral flag can by no means cover him from the effects of our maritime superiority.

In the *first* place, the superiority of our navy, which forces him as soon as a war breaks out, to employ neutrals in almost every branch of his commerce, has the obvious effect of creating a great shock to his mercantile affairs. Nothing is more to be dreaded in a trading country, than such sudden and extensive changes as this. Scarcely a merchant in France but must feel the consequences of our instantly transferring all the navigation of the country to the hands of neutrals, and compelling its foreign imports and exports to be entirely carried on circuitously, instead of directly. What should we not expect in this country, if, by the sudden occurrence of any event, our whole foreign, and part

of our coasting trade were thus new modelled, and, if by the occurrence of another event a few years afterwards, it were as suddenly to be drawn back to its former state? We should undoubtedly tremble for the whole mass of our commercial establishment; and if France were as mercantile a country as England; she too would be nearly ruined by so violent a succession of changes.

In the *second* place, the total suspension of the enemy's navigation is an injury of the greatest moment to his general power. It is precisely the sort of injury most desirable to our own interests, and the natural consequence of our naval superiority. While neutral ships and seamen alone are employed in carrying on the commerce of France, her only nursery of maritime power is destroyed; she loses her whole chance of gaining a navy; she can neither procure a stock of merchant vessels nor breed a race of seamen to man her ships of war. We are told indeed, that the exclusion of her seamen from trade, gives her a

great command of recruits for her vessels of war ; but is this any thing more than a mere temporary supply ? When the English navy has taken or destroyed the crews thus procured, or when, in a few years, they have died out, whence are their places to be supplied ? The trade of France must revive, it must be re-established for some years, before her navy can be placed on the footing which it had when the neutrals began to lend her their assistance, by engrossing her foreign commerce. The ruin of all her hopes of ever acquiring maritime strength is as effectually secured by our naval superiority driving her trade into neutral hands, as it could be by our preventing her from trading at all. And let it be remembered that this is all the injury which it is our interest to make her feel from the war. The destruction of an enemy's trade is not to be desired, in order to annihilate his national wealth. By the individual prosperity of his subjects we ourselves gain ; by their progress in riches we improve our own ; and though his pub-

lic revenue may be augmented by the increase of his public wealth, we must necessarily augment our own revenue by the increase which our wealth receives from his. It is the "*terra potens armis*" that we have to dread, not the "*ubere glebæ*." It is his progress in arms, not in arts, that is formidable; and there cannot be a doubt that an expedient which renders him richer and weaker—which augments the opulence of his people, and makes them harmless to their neighbours—which preserves their trade, but stunts the growth of their navy—is of all others the contrivance best suited to our interests. The surrender of the French commerce to the neutral nations, is this expedient. It preserves whatever of that commerce is beneficial to England, and destroys whatever might injure us; it gives us all the advantages of a rich neighbour, and all the security of a weak one. This is the reward of our unexampled naval superiority; it is the glorious fruit of our numerous victories; it is a benefit which provides of

itself the means of retaining it ; it is a prize which we shall assuredly lose, as soon as we surrender by our impolicy the commercial greatness that makes us powerful at sea. We may prevent it from passing into the hands of France, indeed ; but some other nation must take it from us, if we sacrifice our real prosperity to a foolish jealousy of the good as well as the bad ; a shortsighted desire of annihilating the advantageous with the dangerous branches of our rival's commerce.

But, *lastly*, the operation of our maritime power upon the naval affairs of the enemy, besides destroying that part of his system which alone it is our interest to injure, confers important benefits upon those whom it is our interest to assist. Not only does the ruin of the French navy, by the neutral interference, produce the greatest injury to the government of France, with which alone we ought to be at war, without ruining the unoffending and peaceable inhabitants, whom we should have no spite against ; but it transfers a

large portion of commercial wealth, and a capacity of acquiring maritime power, to nations naturally allied to us, by blood, by the relations of political interest, and by the intercourse of trade. The Americans, in particular, with whom our most extensive and lucrative traffic is carried on, and whose friendship in a political view we ought to court, as the only respectable state beyond the influence of our enemy, are gainers by the commerce in question, to an astonishing degree, both as a mercantile and military people. How much their commercial gains are our gains, need scarcely be pointed out; neither need we shew how greatly it is for the advantage of England, and of the world in general, that what the French power loses should pass into the hands of a state where no undue bias, either towards schemes of ambition, or measures of submission to the common enemy, has ever been shewn—a state where so many circumstances concur to establish the influence of English principles and con-

nexions ; where the other powers of the continent, without having any ground for alarm, may always expect to find assistance, as soon as its means are commensurate with its inclinations.

It is in vain, then, to represent the neutral trade as a complete security to our enemies, against the effects of our maritime superiority. The injuries which it is our interest to inflict upon France, are in no wise diminished by the interference of America in her commerce. The French navy is destroyed by ours, and the chance of restoring it may be considered as at an end, during the war. The revenue of France, in so far as it depends upon colonial produce, we might wish to cut off, but we cannot ; for so long as the French people have a taste for that produce, and money to pay for it, they will buy it : it will enter France, and pay duties to the government. The commercial prosperity of France we have no interest to destroy ; but if we had, we could not, and the transference of the trade to neutral carriers, must always pro-

tect it in one way or another, when a long war, and a total ruin of their naval force, compels the French to embrace this last alternative, as the only chance that is left of importing and exporting commodities.

But by going to war with America, we may exclude her from the enemy's trade, prevent the further emigration of our seamen to her service, and acquire a right to reclaim those who are already gone. By turning all our vessels into armed cruizers too, and engaging in an universal piracy, we might still further enrich ourselves. We have the first navy and bravest people in the world. We may take the sea, as France has seized upon the land; and thus find our profit in preferring war with the whole world, to peace with a single nation, which has rights and advantages repugnant to our supposed interests. —After all, however, laying justice out of the question, is it our real interest to quarrel with the only power which remains unhurt by French influence, to lose our intercourse with the nation best calculated

for our commercial relations. At this moment, France and America seem of themselves disposed to a rupture; and possibly, before this time, war is declared by the United States against Spain. Ought we not to think well both of the consequences of the contest, and of the value of the matter in dispute, before we abandon so fair an opportunity of adding America to the number of our allies, and of establishing our influence there, upon the only durable foundation of alliances, mutual sacrifices, and mutual benefits? The trivial importance of all that could be gained by excluding the neutral traders from the enemy's commerce, has already been shewn. No words are required to prove, that the blanks occasioned by some sailors leaving our service will speedily be filled up; that the number of British seamen at the end of a given period will be greater, in consequence of our breeding for the American navy, just as the number of our people is on the whole augmented by the demand for men, which our colonies create.

We may feel some inconvenience in the mean time, from the progress of the enemy's commerce, and the desertion of our seamen to neutral powers. But our general policy can never surely be modelled according to such temporary considerations. The evils or difficulties in question, are the necessary consequences of the long war in which we have been engaged. They are part of that succession which the new administration have fallen heirs to—a succession made up of all the dangers and difficulties, which a long course of mismanagement and misfortune has accumulated upon the country.

We have now taken a general survey of the relations of England with foreign powers, and have viewed in detail the hopelessness of her situation, if she still

persists in building upon the chance of an immediate resistance to the influence of France. Very few words are required, to deduce from the investigation which has just been closed, the lessons of political conduct pointed out by the experience of the past, and by the actual state of affairs. That the high, unbending, unaccommodating tone, which we have been accustomed to hold all over the world, and which the personal behaviour of our foreign ministers has generally rendered still more unpalatable, is in the extreme foolish at all times, and particularly unfit for the present aspect of things, needs not be proved by a single argument, or illustrated by one example. Nor is it less obvious, that the feelings and the language of conciliation, of moderate views, of calm and temperate dignity to our enemies, of friendly sincerity and frankness to our allies, are the feelings and the language most subservient at all times to our highest interests; most consistent with our true honour; and most agreeable to the situation,

in which the affairs of Europe, as well as of England, are placed in the present crisis.

The whole concerns of this great and invincible people are now committed to the care of an administration which unites the largest portion of talents, experience, rank, and integrity ; the most ample share of all the qualities, whether natural or acquired, intrinsic or accidental, which ever enabled a government to secure influence with its subjects, and command respect among foreign nations. The ministers have taken upon themselves the management of public affairs, at a juncture of unprecedented difficulty and peril. For all the errors of their predecessors, in peace and in war, at home and abroad, they have become in some sort responsible. The natural consequences of those errors must be warded off by their efforts. No compromise of principles, no paltry, half measures, no incongruous mixture of big words and little doings, will bear them out in redeeming their pledge to save the coun-

try. The world will judge fairly, however, of their conduct, while it scrutinizes their measures strictly. Miracles will not be expected from them; and in all the departments of our national concerns, the magnitude of the losses which have already been sustained—the extent of the dangers which at present surround us, from no fault of theirs, will be justly taken into the estimate of their attempts to better our condition.

There are, it is true, some reforms in our practical policy which the inquiry now concluded, has plainly dictated, and which will peremptorily be expected from the new administration. We may expect that the important branch of our intercourse with foreign nations will be entrusted to men of talents and acquirements, adapted to so weighty and difficult a department of affairs; that we shall now see extended to those situations of high trust upon which depend the alliances, nay, the questions of peace and war with our neighbours, the same enlightened principles of

preference for real merit and tried integrity, that has presided over the formation of the new ministry in all its other branches.—A careful review of our colonial affairs forms another fair subject of expectation at the present crisis. Nothing can be more gratifying than the beginnings which have already been made, towards the attainment of security for our establishments in the West Indies; a security which can only be attained, by the utter destruction of the grand evil that hourly endangers our existence in those rich settlements, and the gradual relaxation of the prohibitory system, that has produced of late so many serious inconveniences.—The state of affairs in the East is no less delicate and urgent. By an unhappy departure from the only system of management which can give us a chance of security, amidst the rivals of our power, and the natural enemies of our enormous empire in those distant countries, we have arrived at a point where it is difficult to determine whether the pursuit of the path before us

or the retracing of our steps, be attended with the greatest perils. Our measures, unfortunately successful at first, have now produced their natural effects; and even the external circumstance of military triumph has begun to forsake us; while the whole consequences of our impolicy, in the ruin of our Indian finances, the extension of our untenable conquests, the union of our implacable enemies, hitherto happily for us divided among themselves, have been exhibited by symptoms too plain to be mistaken. The details of these questions belong to another branch of this Inquiry. The subject is only alluded to here, as an additional presumption in favour of the moderate and pacific system, which every other view of our present situation concurs to recommend.—Neither is this the opportunity for discussing the various questions of domestic policy, which now press upon the attention of government. Yet, when by the most general survey of our situation in this department, we discover such radical defects in our

military system as were formerly hinted at, we may deduce a new argument in favour of the reforms which the country has a right to expect; the improvement of our military economy confessedly inadequate to the emergency; and the adoption of such moderate councils, as may give the requisite time for carrying that improvement into effect.—The state of our finances, the burthens to which the people have long been exposed, the accumulation of our debts, lead to the same conclusion.—Moderate councils are still more strongly recommended by the situation of Ireland; the difficulty of adopting at present the great measure so desirable for the prosperity of that valuable dominion; and the propriety of taking all the steps short of complete emancipation, which may assimilate the catholics with the rest of the people. An interval of peace would, indeed, be invaluable for that important branch of our empire; nor can a doubt be entertained that it would be improved in the way best adapted to restore real con-

tentment and substantial obedience by the confidence and kind treatment which can alone establish solid authority—" *Triumpho multo clarius est, senatum judicare, potius mansuetudine et innocentia imperatoris, provinciam, quam vi militum aut benignitate deorum retentam atque conservatam esse.*"*

It is, indeed, abundantly clear, that the state of our affairs, domestic as well as foreign, enjoins a strict regard to the conciliatory system in general, and prepares us more especially to expect in such a peace as may be consistent with our real honour, the highest advantages both to our own interests and those of Europe at large. With regard to the continent it has already been demonstrated, that nothing but mischief can possibly accrue from a renewal of the late unhappy war. What then is likely to result from things remaining in their present unsettled state? Will the enemy, so long as we refuse to give him peace, so long as we prevent our allies from treat-

* Catonis Epist. apud Cic. Ep. lib. xv.

ing, so long as we do not use our influence to bring about a negotiation—will he abstain from reaping the thousand advantages of his present situation? Will he submit to all the evils of warfare and forego all its gains? Will he unite in his plan all the losses of war and all the constraints of peace? This would be too close an imitation of our own conduct with regard to Spain. Unhappily we cannot expect to be imitated in our European tactics. Our East Indian policy will suit him better. He will go on conquering such of our allies as continue hostile; uniting with those whom he may intimidate, or allure to share in the plunder of the rest; stretching his creations of kings over the North of Germany; aggrandizing those whom he has made in the South; extending his dominion in Italy over the islands, and from Italy striding onwards to the East.

*“ Jam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit
 “ Actum, inquit, nihil est.”**

To all this prospect of loss, from a senseless prolongation of a war which has un-

* Juven.

fortunately reached its natural conclusion, the enemies of peace can only oppose certain vague, indefinite fears, of the dangers with which they conceive a peace to be pregnant. First they imagine that good or even fair terms cannot be expected; then they think the enemy will not be sincere; next, they dread his taking the opportunity of recruiting his resources, and especially of restoring his navy; lastly, they expect that he will take us by surprize, and attack us when he is sure to succeed. In all these apprehensions, however, there is a great deal of misconception, and no small inconsistency. As to the terms, we must first see what he offers. It is indeed very evident, that we cannot expect such favourable conditions for the Continent, as if we had not plunged it into the late war, and occasioned the ruin of Austria, the conquest of Naples, and the aggrandisement of France and her dependencies. We cannot hope for such terms as the present Administration would have gained, had it been formed two years ago. We cannot imagine that

the disasters already occasioned by our impolicy should have no influence upon our future success, whether we treat for peace or continue the war. But it is equally clear, that if the enemy finds his advantage in peace (and if he does not, we need neither expect it nor desire it) and if he estimates, as he must, the high spirit and unconquerable valour of this country, he will make no proposals which can dishonour us. He will even tempt us to overcome our repugnance towards him, and our contempt of his new authority, by some favourable concessions.—At any rate we can lose nothing by offering to treat upon fair and equitable terms; by obtaining for the first time, the favourable character of moderation and pacific dispositions; an acquisition which all must admit to be next to peace itself—which some may even prefer to it; in fine by putting our enemy, for the first time, obviously in the wrong, should the negotiation unhappily fail. Then, with regard to his sincerity, we may safely conclude that the same motive which leads

him to think of making a peace, will induce him to keep it—the motive of interest—for what can he gain by a transient peace, except the paltry cession of a few islands, which we shall always be able to retake, with the troops and shipping he may send thither, so long as our marine is superior to his.—Next, as to his recruiting his resources, and particularly his navy, this he most undoubtedly will attempt to do. We must lay our account with it. We mean to recruit our own army, and he must lay his account with that. But does it follow, that he will be able to acquire a navy equal to ours during the peace? Where are his seamen? Where are his officers and pilots? Where are his Nelsons? Should the peace last for ten years, which is unfortunately a high estimate, how much would England gain in her commerce, her finances, her colonial and domestic economy, her military system, her foreign policy! And France, too, would gain somewhat in several of these particulars. Her trade would increase, and she would acquire colonial establishments. Would not this make her

much less warlike? Would it not be utterly incompatible with the military conscription, the most formidable feature in her present aspect? Would it not render her less military in peace, and more averse to war, the greatest of evils to a mercantile and colonial nation? But could her navy in ten, or even twenty years of peace possibly grow up so as to match our own? Should we not at the end of such a happy period, enter upon the war with our commerce augmented, our finances cleared from debt, our wealth more able to supply our necessities, our navy more numerous? And would not this be the very same thing with beginning a new series of brilliant victories over the navy of our enemies? Besides, with the restoration of our continental relations and the improvement of our army, might we not fairly expect even success on shore, as well as at sea? Why is not France averse to peace from her fears of our commerce increasing, and our army being established on a new system? Why then should we, who are as

courageous as herself, dread the progress of her trade and the re-establishment of her marine? But to all such fears one answer may be given—they prove too much—they prove that peace can never be made, if they dissuade us from making it now; they have no application to this particular time, they are apprehensions of all times, and they go to involve the world in one eternal war*.

Let us hope that the distinguished

* Though no authority is requisite to prove that the position is absurd which leads to such a conclusion, it may be proper to remark that Mr. Burke, in the midst of his celebrated arguments for war with the French Republic, quotes Vattel in order to shew that, if a belligerent power fails repeatedly in obtaining the object of the war, it must at length "give peace to its people, nor wage eternal hostilities." Burke, vii. 209. Vattel, B. ii. chap. xii.—Some persons seem disposed to view the late conduct of Prussia as a new obstacle to negotiation.—It should be recollected, however, that this unfortunate difference only increases the difficulties of our situation so long as the war lasts. It is a new consequence, but surely not an unforeseen one, of the late disastrous league, and an addition to the perplexities in which the present ministers have found the country—perplexities which had been thought almost incapable of augmentation.

statesmen, who 'are now happily placed at the head of the government, will judge better, as they see more clearly than such desponding and narrow views permit the multitude to do; that they will justly estimate the sum of affairs, nor timidly shut their eyes to the misfortunes in which they have found the country; that with all their efforts to carry on a vigorous war, they will keep in mind how peculiarly the great end of all warfare is desirable at the present crisis, for our allies as well as for ourselves; that, without abandoning one point which the honour of England requires them to maintain, they will abjure all those false notions of honour, by which nothing but eternal hostility with all the world can ever be obtained; and that, whether we are to be blessed with peace, or compelled to prepare for new battles, they will pursue those plans of moderate and salutary reform in the various branches of our national policy, without which no glory, no safety, not even the inheritance of a name will remain for England.

APPENDIX.



A P P E N D I X.

Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of all the Russias, signed at St. Petersburg, the 11th of April 1805.

(Usual Preamble.)

ART. 1. **A**S the state of suffering in which Europe is placed, demands speedy remedy, their Majesties the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Emperor of all the Russias, have mutually agreed to consult upon the means of putting a stop thereto, without waiting for farther encroachments on the part of the French government. They have agreed in consequence, to employ the most speedy and most efficacious means to form a general league of the States of Europe, and to engage them to accede to the present concert : and to engage them, in order to accomplish the end proposed, to collect together a force, which, independently of the succours furnished by his Britannic Majesty, may amount to five hundred thousand effective men ; and to employ the same with energy, in order to induce or to compel the French government to agree to the re-establishment of peace and of the equilibrium of Europe.

ART. 2. The object of this league will be to carry into effect what is proposed by the present concert, namely ;

(a) The evacuation of the country of Hanover and of the north of Germany.

(b) The establishment of the independence of the Republics of Holland and Switzerland.

(c) The re-establishment of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont with as large an augmentation of territory as circumstances will permit.

(d) The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the island of Elba included, by the French forces.

(e) The establishment of an order of things in Europe, which may effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different States, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations.

ART. 3. His Britannic Majesty, in order to concur efficaciously on his side to the happy effects of the present concert, engages to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces both by sea and land, as well as his vessels adapted for transporting troops, in such manner as shall be determined upon in the general plan of operations ; his Majesty will moreover assist the different powers who shall accede thereto by subsidies, the amount of which shall correspond to the respective forces which shall be employed ; and in order that the said pecu-

niary succours may be proportioned in the manner most conducive to the general good, and to assist the powers in proportion to the exertions they may make to contribute to the common success, it is agreed that these subsidies (barring particular arrangements), shall be furnished in the proportion of one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, for each hundred thousand men of regular troops, and so in proportion for a greater or smaller number, payable according to the conditions herein after specified.

ART. 4. The said subsidies shall be payable by instalments, from month to month, in proportion to the forces which each power shall employ in pursuance of its engagements, to combat the common enemy, and according to the official report of the armies employed at the opening of the campaign, and of the several reinforcements which may join them. An arrangement shall be made in conformity with the plan of operations, which shall be forthwith regulated as to the period when these subsidies shall begin to be paid, and the mode and place of payment shall be settled, so as to suit the convenience of each of the belligerent parties. His Britannic Majesty will likewise be prepared to advance within the current year, a sum for putting the troops in motion. This sum shall be settled by particular arrangements to be entered into by each power, who shall take part in this concert; but his said Majesty understands that the whole of the sums to be furnished to any power within the current year, as well on account of the said advance as for the monthly subsidies, is in no case to exceed the proportion of one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, for every hundred thousand men.

ART. 5. The high contracting parties agree that the different members of the league shall respectively be permitted to retain accredited persons with the commanders in chief of the different armies, to carry on the correspondence, and to attend to the military operations.

ART. 6. Their Majesties agree, that in the event of a league being formed, such as is pointed out in the first article, they will not make peace with France but by the common consent of all the powers who shall become parties in the said league; and also that the continental powers shall not recal their forces before the peace; moreover, his Britannic Majesty engages to continue the payment of the subsidies during the continuance of the war.

ART. 7. The present concert which is mutually acknowledged by the high contracting parties to be equally valid and binding as the most solemn treaty, shall be ratified by his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at St. Petersburg within the space of ten weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In testimony whereof, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. I. (A.)

First separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April—30th March, 1805.

HIS Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, having made known to his Britannic Majesty his arrangements with their Majesties the Emperor of Germany and the King of Sweden, his Britannic Majesty engages to fulfil his stipulations of the present Treaty of Concert towards each of these Powers, if, in the space of four months, reckoning from the day of the signature of the present Instrument, both those Powers, or one of them, shall have caused their forces to act against France by virtue of the engagements they have taken with his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

This separate Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.
(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. I. (B.)

Fourth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April—20th March, 1805.

THE collecting of 500,000 men mentioned in Article I. of the Treaty of Concert signed this day, not being so easy as it is desirable, their Majesties have agreed that it should be carried into execution as soon as it should be possible to oppose to France an active force of 400,000 men composed in the following manner; Austria will supply 250,000 men, Russia not less than 117,000 men, independently of the levies made by her in Albania, in Greece, &c.; and the remainder of the 400,000 will be made up by the troops of Naples, Hanover, Sardinia, and others.

This separate Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.
(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. I. (C.)

Fifth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April—30th March, 1805.

HIS Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages also to march as soon as possible an army of not less than sixty thousand men to the frontiers of Austria, and also another of not less than eighty thousand men to the Prussian frontiers, to be ready to co-operate with the said courts in the proportion established by the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and to support them respectively in case they should be attacked by France, who might suppose them to be engaged in some negotiation tending towards an object contrary to her views; but it is understood, that independently of the one hundred and fifteen thousand men, which his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias will cause to act against the French, he will keep bodies of reserve and observation upon his frontiers.

It is moreover agreed, that as the forces promised by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, shall all, or in part, quit the frontiers of his empire, his Britannic Majesty will pay them the subsidies at the rate established by the present Treaty of Concert, until the return of the said forces to their homes; and moreover, the equivalent of three months of subsidy as a *Première mise en Campagne*.

The Russian troops already stationed at the Seven Islands, or which may be intended to be transported thither, will not enjoy the advantage of the subsidies and of the *Première mise en Campagne*, stipulated in the present Article, before the day of their leaving the Seven Islands to commence their operations against the French.

This separate Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.
(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. I (D.)

Sixth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April—30th March, 1805.

HIS Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias being disposed to form an energetic Concert, with the sole view of insuring to Europe a lasting and solid peace, founded upon the principles of justice, equity, and the law of nations by which they are constantly guided, are aware of the necessity of a mutual understanding at this time upon several principles, which they will evince in pursuance of a previous Concert, as soon as the events of the war may render it necessary.

APPENDIX.

These principles are, in no degree to controul the public opinion in France, or in any other countries, where the combined armies may carry on their operations, with respect to the form of government which it may be proper to adopt; nor to appropriate to themselves, till a peace should be concluded, any of the conquests made by one or the other of the belligerent parties; and to take possession of the towns and the territories which may be wrested from the common enemy in the name of the country or states to which by acknowledged right they belong, and in all other cases, in the name of all the members of the league; and finally, to assemble, at the termination of the war, a general congress, to discuss and fix the provisions of the law of nations, on a more determined basis than unfortunately has hitherto been practicable; and to insure their observance by the establishment of a federative system calculated upon the situation of the different States of Europe.

This separate Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. I. (E.)

Eighth Separate Article.

IT being possible that the bias which the French government tries to give to the counsels of the different States of Europe, may determine one or other of those States to throw obstacles in the way of the attainment of the salutary effects which are the object of the present Concert, and even to have recourse to hostile measures against one of the high contracting parties, in spite of their endeavours to establish an equitable and permanent order of things in Europe, his Britannic Majesty and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias agree to make common cause against every power, which, by the employment of its forces, or by too intimate an union with France, may pretend to raise essential obstacles to the development of those measures which the high contracting parties may have to take, in order to attain the object proposed by the present Concert.

This separate Article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. I (F.)

Eleventh Separate Article.

THE High Contracting Parties, acknowledging the necessity of supporting the propositions of peace, which it is their intention to make to Bonaparte by energetic demonstrations, have resolved to invite his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty to put his armies in a state of readiness for action without delay, by completing their numbers, and by concentrating them in the neighbourhood of the borders of France. His Britannic Majesty, considering the extraordinary expences which this measure will render necessary, promises and engages to furnish to his Imperial and Royal Majesty, immediately after his accession to the present Concert, the sum of one million of pounds sterling for *Première mise en Champagne*, which the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will not reclaim, in case the negotiations for peace should be crowned with success, provided that, in a contrary event, Austria would take the field immediately.

This separate Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.
(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. I. (G.)

Separate and Secret Article.

ALTHOUGH the High Contracting Parties have agreed by the first separate Article of the Treaty of Concert established this day between them, that Austria and Sweden shall not partake of the advantages of the said Concert but in the event of their bringing their forces into action against France, four months after its signature, by virtue of their engagements with his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; yet his Britannic Majesty, considering the advantage to the future security of Europe, which results from an union similar to that formed by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias with their Majesties the Emperor of Germany and the King of Sweden, for the purpose of opposing the further encroachments of Bonaparte, promises to fulfil the stipulations of the present Concert, in the same degree towards either of those powers, if, in the course of the year 1805, both or one of them should bring their forces into action against France, in virtue of their engagements with his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

This separate and secret Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.
(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. I. (H)

Additional Article.

HIS Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias having, in pursuance of his sincere desire to insure success to the enterprize concerted against France, determined, in case the circumstances should require it, to augment the forces which he has promised to bring into action, to an hundred and eighty thousand men, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland promises and engages to pay, in that case, to his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, for the troops which he may thus add to the 115,000 already agreed upon, a subsidy and a *Première mise en Champagne*, at the same rate as is agreed by the fifth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert established between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias the 30th March—11th April 1805.

This additional Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the aforementioned Concert, and shall be ratified by the two High Contracting Powers; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of ten weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. I. (L)

Additional Article of the Treaty of Concert, signed at St. Petersburg, the 11th April, 1805.

HIS Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, purposing to concert measures with the Court of Vienna, by which considerable Russian armies may be approximated to the frontiers of France, by crossing the Austrian and Prussian territories, while it is declared that the object of these movements is to obtain securities for the continent, promises and engages to his Britannic Majesty, in his own name and in that of his allies, that, should even circumstances require, that at the moment when the Russian troops began their march, they should declare that this movement was in no way connected with an existing Concert with his Britannic Majesty, but that the powers of the continent reclaim the fulfilment by France of her immediate engagements with them, yet as soon as the war shall have broken out, they will no longer pursue a particular object, but that which has been determined by the Concert of the 30th March—11th April, with all the clauses incorporated with it:

In return for this assurance, his Britannic Majesty promises and engages, in the first place, to fulfil towards the Emperor of all the Russias, the stipulations of the abovementioned Concert, in all their parts, as soon as the war shall have broken out between Russia and

France, and especially to furnish for the Russian troops the subsidies agreed upon, payable from the day on which they shall have quitted the frontiers of the empire, and moreover the three months stipulated subsidy under the name of *Première mise en Campagne*: with this condition, nevertheless, that however long may be the term between the epoch of the departure of the Russian troops from their frontiers, and that of the commencement of hostilities, his Britannic Majesty shall not be bound to pay to Russia for that interval more than six months subsidy at the most, the *Première mise en Campagne* being therein comprised.

In the second place, to fulfil, with regard to Austria, all the stipulations of the abovementioned Concert, and especially all that relates to the subsidies, as soon as the ambassador of his Imperial and Royal Majesty shall have signed the act of accession of his court; and lastly, in the third place, to pay in the like manner to the other allies of Russia, who shall assist in this enterprize (except in the case of special arrangements), the subsidies which have been allotted for them by the abovementioned Concert, and on the conditions therein specified.

This additional Article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the abovementioned Concert, and shall be ratified by the Two High Contracting Parties, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg, in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.
(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI,

(No. II.)

Extract from a dispatch of Lord G. L. Gower, to Lord Mulgrave, dated St. Petersburg, 29th June, 1805. (No. 27.)

MY LORD,

THE annexation of the Ligurian republic to the French empire, executed at the very moment when a Russian plenipotentiary was expected in France, charged with propositions of which the professed object had been the general arrangements of the affairs of Europe, is considered as so great an insult to both sovereigns, whose sentiments that plenipotentiary was empowered to declare, that his imperial majesty has judged under these circumstances, he could not consistently, with what is due to his own dignity, or to that of his august ally, permit M. Novossilzoff to proceed to fulfil the object of his mission.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.

/ The right hon. Lord Mulgrave, &c.

Extract of a dispatch from Lord G. L. Gower, to Lord Mulgrave, dated Petersburg, 22d July, 1805. (No. 30.)

MY LORD,

I WAS on the point of dispatching yesterday the messenger to England, when I received an invitation from Prince Czartoryski to a conference, in which he read to me some very important dispatches he had just received from Count Razoumofsky and General Winzingerode. By these it appears that the emperor of Germany is at last awakened to a sense of his true dignity, and the real interests of his empire; and that foreseeing the inevitability of war, he is determined not to leave to Bonaparte the choice of the moment to commence hostilities.

The right hon. Lord Mulgrave, &c. &c.

Extract of a dispatch from Lord G. L. Gower, to Lord Mulgrave, dated St. Petersburg, 3d September, 1805. (No. 38.)

MY LORD,

THE last dispatches from the Russian ambassador at Vienna speak in strong terms of the warlike temper of that cabinet; certain communications had been made from Paris, which indicated a yielding disposition on the part of Bonaparte, but to these indications Count Cobentzel seems to attach no credit, and Count Razoumofsky represents that the present character of the Austrian ministry is a direct contrast to its former timidity and indcision, and that a firm conviction seems now to prevail at Vienna, that it is through war alone that any security can be obtained against the ambition and power of France. There is just ground for expecting, that his imperial and royal majesty, being persuaded that war is inevitable, may be induced not to wait the issue of the proposed negotiations with the French government, but that he will commence hostilities at the time when the superiority of the allied forces promises the best prospect of success. Towards the beginning of October, the Austrian army upon the Venetian frontier will be completely to its full establishment, and will without doubt be greatly superior in numbers to the French forces in Italy, and the Russian armies will be sufficiently advanced into the hereditary states to ensure their arrival upon the frontiers of Bavaria, before the French troops from the coast and the interior of France can reach the German empire; I have, therefore, in several conversations lately with Prince Czartorysky and Comte Stadion, urged the expediency of losing no time in beginning the war. The prince informs me, that he has already instructed Comte Razoumofsky to press this consideration upon the attention of the court of Vienna, but that he will not fail to repeat the instructions to the Russian ambassador.

I have great satisfaction in observing the increased energy and vigour of this court. The Emperor, foreseeing the possibility of Bonaparte effecting a large augmentation to the French army in consequence of

the menaced attack by the allied powers, has resolved to be prepared to meet such an effort, by a corresponding exertion on his part, and he has ordered a levy of four men out of every five hundred, which will produce above 150,000 men.

A corps of above ten thousand men, under the command of his Imperial highness the Grand Duke Constantine, and composed chiefly of the garrison of St. Petersburg, began their march towards the Prussian frontier on Thursday the 22d. The troops destined for Pomerania are ready for embarkation, and will probably sail in about six or eight days; they amount to twenty thousand men. No dispatches, however, have been received from M. Alopecus, who was charged to negotiate with the King of Sweden the necessary arrangements for the landing of the Russians at Stralsund, and the augmentation of the Swedish garrison at that port.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.

No. III. (A.)

(Translation.)

Plan of Operations proposed by the Court of Vienna.

FRANCE, upon the new organization of her army, has on foot,

112 regiments of the line,	-	-	404,828 men.
30 regiments of light infantry,	-	-	107,540
85 cavalry,	-	-	64,226
16 artillery,	-	-	21,430

598,024

This number, with the addition of the different corps in Corsica and the islands, of 21 regiments of Dutch soldiers, 11 Swiss regiments, 18 auxiliary troops from Italy,* and the Imperial guard, which consists of 15,000 men, makes a total of 651,964, the whole military force now on foot in France. These troops are for the greater part already on the war establishment. Any grand descent from England, upon the coast of France, with the probability of decided success, is scarcely to be expected. France may therefore venture to draw almost all her troops from her interior, and from her coasts. Besides, a well arranged national guard, in perfect discipline, would enable her to spare her troops of the line, even from where they had been employed in preserving domestic order and security. It follows, that France might employ 500,000 men in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany.

In opposition to that force, the 250,000 Austrians, and 115,000 Russians, stipulated in the last treaty, compose a total force, which is, in comparison, so much the less to be depended upon, because very little effective assistance is to be expected from the Swedes and the English. The following are the necessary conclusions from the statement.

1st. Considering this estimate, and the advantages which France enjoys in its geographical situation, whether for defence or for aggression, the maintenance of peace, till a more favourable conjuncture shall arise, seems to be infinitely desirable.

2d If, however, war should become inevitable, not only to ensure its success, but to avoid likewise evils more alarming than those of the present moment, it would become indispensibly necessary, that the allied courts should use their most vigorous efforts to oppose those of the enemy, and bring into efficiency means at least equal to theirs, if not superior.

The military arrangements, the financial, and the general policy of the allies, must concur in putting forth those energies, by which alone we can hope to give success to our efforts.

1st. Military arrangements. This co-operation in these three branches could be of very little effect, if the Austrian armies should not come into the field more than 300,000 strong. The first of the papers submitted shews, what would be the deficiencies to be supplied in the Imperial and Royal army, in recruiting, in appointments, and in remounting the cavalry, besides other augmentations, necessary to raise it from its present weak state, upon a peace establishment, to the number above-mentioned; and, at the same time, to leave the number of troops requisite for service in the interior of the Monarchy, and for the observance of the movements of Prussia.

The difficulties which strike upon a first view will appear still more considerable upon a due attention to the manner in which the Austrian troops are now distributed. The line formed to prevent the introduction of infectious disease, has indeed contributed to obviate, in part, that disadvantage, as it leaves the Venetian dominions of the empire no longer in danger of a surprise from the French. But, if it were necessary to take measures to oppose a great force to that which the enemy might bring against us from the interior of his dominions, then would dispositions the most prompt and vigorous be requisite, to the seasonable concentration of the Austrian troops which are, in great part, at a distance from the frontiers in danger, to put them upon the footing for war, and to bring them to act upon the points which are the most exposed. This first measure would require to be carried into effect with the greater activity, because it could not be expected that the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia should, from such a distance, arrive on the scene of action, till after the Austrian troops should have sustained the first attacks of the enemy. His Majesty will not be deterred by these great difficulties, if war should become unavoidable; he will, in that case, use his most strenuous endeavours to surmount every difficulty, and fulfil his engagements. But to give effect to this steady resolution, it is necessary;

2dly. That there should be adequate financial resources, and that the difficulties which present themselves under that head should be removed; the imperial court of St. Petersburg has already been informed of the vast and necessary expenditure required to put the infantry, the cavalry, the carriages and artillery, the objects of the commissaries' Department, the magazines and stores, in short, every thing belonging to the army, upon the full war establishment. The succour of fifteen millions of Florins, which has been asked from England for this primary service, is not more than one-half of what is actually wanted. The expense of each campaign of the last war was from one hundred

and ten to one hundred and twenty millions. The subsequent rise of the prices of commodities would render the expense of the same objects, now, considerably greater. But, suppose it even not to exceed the former, yet the subsidy of thirty millions of Florins, which is asked from England, added to the ordinary peace expenditure of the army, would leave still an enormous deficit, which the burthened finances of Austria could hardly make good. It follows that, unless England grant the subsidy which has been demanded, it must be impossible for the Court of Vienna, notwithstanding its determined inclination, even to make those preparations for war, which are not to be attempted without an assurance of being able to follow them up, and maintain them.

These considerations being stated, it is next to be examined, what would be the detail of the operations of the armies in Italy, the Tyrol, Switzerland, and the frontiers of Germany, if they should make all their movements in perfect mutual concert. It is this concert of operations which must meet the first plans and marches of the enemy. Its prompt or tardy success, its favourable or unfavourable result, will determine, in fact, the whole fortune of the war, and of course, the fate of Europe.

Considering the geographical position of France; its German frontier; Switzerland, which is in subjugation to it; and the Italian republic; and observing, on the other hand, the position of the hereditary dominions of Austria; it is impossible not to discern, that it would be imprudent to make any attempt from Germany, against France, in Alsace, or on the Rhine. Such an attempt could be made, only, by passing the Rhine at Mannheim, or by laying siege to Mentz.

In the first of these enterprizes, there would be the vast disadvantage of advancing, from the very first step, amidst fortified places of the greatest strength; of being forced to carry on a war of sieges, with an enormous consumption of men and money, and without a prospect of any happier issue of the campaign, even at the best, than by the reduction of one of those strong places. To undertake the siege of Mentz, at least 50,000 men would be necessary to blockade the place, and to cover the operations of the siege. The extent and strength of Mentz are such, that we should be detained before that place alone for half the campaign; and no operation subsequent to its surrender, could lead to any but very uncertain and insecure results; because the places upon the Meuse on the one side, and in Alsace on the other, would every where arrest the progress of our armies. Add to these another consideration of not less weight, that, since neither of those operations could be carried into effect but by great armies, there would be few troops left to cover the Upper Rhine. The enemy might avail himself of that local weakness; might direct his attack there, while we should be occupied in the siege of Landau or Mentz; and might thus advance in a line of operation shorter than ours; might possess himself of our communications; and might get between us and all our supplies. To avoid being cut off from these, we should, in that case, be obliged to abandon every thing without striking a blow.

An attempt through Switzerland, against Franche Comte, would be, indisputably, the most formidable to the enemy. His frontiers are there open. But, as such a plan of operation could not be carried into effect but through Swabia, by the Voralberg, or below the Lake of Constance, on account of the impossibility of having supplies conveyed through the

Tyrol; it would be necessary, before attempting it, to have made considerable progress in Swabia, and to have an army of observation opposite Strasburg, to watch the enemy. It would even be necessary to have obtained some advantages in Italy, before hazarding an attack in Switzerland. A retreat of the army in Italy towards Klagensfurt, would prevent the army in the Tyrol from joining in the operations in Switzerland. The enemy would possess themselves of the Puster-Thal, (the Puster-Thal is the Tyrol between Brixen and Lientz, and communicates with the vale of the Adige), on the great road for our communications and conveyances to and from the Tyrol. We should be compelled to detach troops from the army in Germany for the interior defence of Austria, and not only to relinquish all offensive operations, but even to confine ourselves within the line of the Lech, or, possibly, the Inn in Germany, and there to take a defensive position, in order not to be at too great a distance from Austria, and to be ready to supply with due promptitude the assistance which might there be wanted. It follows, from all these considerations, that the war should begin with vigorous offensive operations in Italy. It is there we should act with the superior force of our army. A victory gained there, would afford us the same advantages for the prosecution of offensive operations against France, which France would acquire from our loss of a battle, in order to penetrate into the Austrian hereditary dominions. If the difficulties of our situation render it even impossible for us to arm and advance to act upon the frontier as soon as the enemy, how much less is it to be expected, that the troops of the Emperor of Russia could arrive in time to act at the very commencement of the war?

It would be the interest of France to use every means to anticipate their arrival, by an early and decisive superiority. Any concentration of our troops, or the march of the Russians, would not fail to afford Bonaparte a specious pretext to declare war. The force of this observation is, to prove, that, in case of war with France, the plan of operations, first distribution and disposal of the troops, the commencement and the first progress of the military movements, must be arranged, on the supposition that war will be begun by the Austrians alone.

It would be requisite, that the army in Italy should begin its movements with forcing the passage of the Adige, dislodging the enemy from the Mincio, investing Mantua and Peschiera, detaching a body of troops to the Po to observe the South of Italy, and open its way to the Adda, in order to cover the blockade or siege of these places. Only the reduction of these two fortresses, or some such great and fortunate events, as are not to be reckoned upon, could induce the commandant of this army to push his operations farther.

The army in Germany would commence its operations by passing the Inn, would enter Bavaria, and would there await on the Lech, the movements of the other armies, and in particular, the arrival of the troops from Russia. The army in the Tyrol would be determined in its movements by those of the armies in Italy and Germany.

In the case of operations against Switzerland, a part of the troops in the Tyrol would be employed in an attack on the Grisons and the other small cantons; and the rest would, in the case of the success of the army in Italy, advance from its defensive positions, and join that army. This is all that, with our greatest efforts, and upon the supposition of decided success, we can expect to accomplish, till the whole

of the plans and powers of the coalition shall be in full activity. If Italy be the grand point of operation at the commencement of hostilities, Switzerland must become such, as soon as we shall have obtained successes in that quarter, and shall have advanced through Swabia. Switzerland offers to a conqueror the advantage of the shortest communication between Italy and Germany; it gives the facility of sending supplies and reinforcements with promptitude to the one or the other of these countries; and it is only through Switzerland that an entrance can be effected into France on the side of Franche Comté. It would then be necessary to cover ourselves on the side of Alsace, by taking Befort and Hunningen, and leaving, at the same time, a considerable body of troops in Swabia, to cover the right wing of the army in Switzerland from any of the attempts by the French from Strasburg, and to protect our communications, and ensure the conveyance of supplies.

The reasons have been explained, on account of which, in the general plan of operations, it is not indicated in what manner the troops of the two Imperial courts might co-operate, either in union under the same standards, or by a Concert in their movements. We must look forward to the case of Austria being attacked by France before the arrival of the Russians in Germany. The combination of the operations of the two Courts would then depend upon the resolution of Prussia. And, thanks to the wise measures of the Emperor Alexander! we are soon to learn decisively how far we may or may not reckon upon Prussian co-operation, upon the neutrality of that power, or its rejection of our propositions. We shall then be enabled to present to the Imperial Court of Russia, upon the request which it has communicated, proposals for its co-operation towards the common and general object.

We may here previously submit the consideration, that the line of operation in Italy is the most remote, and that it is there the campaign must be opened with the greatest vigour; that the Court of Vienna will therefore send a great army into Italy, in order to act with rapidity upon that line; and that therefore the march of the Russian troops, and their substitution for those of Austria, amidst the movements of the war in Italy, would be impossible.

As soon as we shall certainly know the result of the great and important step which his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias has taken at the Court of Berlin, we shall add, without delay, whatever remains to be communicated farther upon the subject of the friendly propositions here explained, and upon the plan of operations for the two Courts, in Germany, and shall forthwith submit it to the Court of Russia.

James Whittier Esq

September 4th 1806 Liverpool

TREATY OF PRESBURGH.

(USUAL PREAMBLE.)

ART. I. There shall be from the date of this day peace and friendship between his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, their heirs and successors, their States and subjects respectively, for ever.

II. France shall continue to possess to property and sovereignty the Dutchies, Principalities, Lordships, and territories beyond the Alps,

which were before the present Treaty united and incorporated with the French Empire, or governed by the Laws and Government of France.

III. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, for himself, his heirs, and successors, recognises the dispositions made by his Majesty the Emperor of France, King of Italy, relative to the Principalities of Lucca and Piombino.

IV. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria renounces, as well for himself, as for his heirs and successors, that part of the States of the Republic of Venice, ceded to him by the Treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville, shall be united in perpetuity to the kingdom of Italy.

V. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria acknowledges his Majesty the Emperor of the French King of Italy; but it is agreed that, in conformity with the declaration made by his Majesty the Emperor of the French, at the moment when he took the Crown of Italy, that as soon as the parties named in that declaration shall have fulfilled the conditions therein expressed, the Crowns of France and Italy shall be separated for ever, and cannot in any case be united on the same head. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany binds himself to acknowledge, on the separation, the successor his Majesty the Emperor of the French shall appoint to himself as King of Italy.

VI. The present treaty of peace is declared to comprehend their most Serene Highnesses the Electors of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Baden, and the Batavian Republic, allies of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, in the present war.

VII. The Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg having taken the title of King, without ceasing nevertheless to belong to the Germanic confederation; his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria acknowledges them in that character.

VIII. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, as well as himself, his heirs and successors, as for the Princes of his House, their heirs and successors respectively, renounces the Principalities, Lordships, Domains, and Territories herein-after specified:—

Cedes and abandons to his Majesty the King of Bavaria, the Margraviate of Burgau and its dependencies, the Principality of Eichstadt, the part of the territory of Passau belonging to the Elector of Salzburg, and situated between Bohemia, Austria, the Danube and the Inn; the county of Tyrol, comprehending therein the Principalities of Brixen and Botzen, the seven Lordships of the Voralberg, with their detached dependencies; the county of Hohenems, the county of Königsegg, Rotrensels, the Lordships of Tettnach and Argen, and the town and territory of Lindau.

To his Majesty the King of Wirtemberg, the five cities of the Danube, to wit—Ehingen, Munderkingen, Rudlingen, Mengen, and Sigmaringen, with their dependencies, the city of Constance excepted, that part of the Brisgaw which extends in the possessions of Wirtemberg, and situated to the East of a line, drawn from Schlegelberg to Molback, and the towns and territories of Willingen and Breitingen.—To his most Serene Highness the Elector of Baden, the Brisgaw (with the exception of the branch and separate portions above described), the Ortenau and other dependencies, the city of Constance, and the commanding of Meinau.

The Principalities, Lordships, Domains, and territories above-men-

tioned, shall be possessed respectively by their Majesties, the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and by his most Serene Highness the Elector of Baden, as well in paramount as in full property and sovereignty, in the same manner, with which they were possessed by his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, or the Princes of his House, and not otherwise.

IX. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria acknowledges the debts contracted by the House of Austria, for the benefit of private persons and public establishments of the country, making at present an integrant part of the French Empire, and it is agreed that his said Majesty shall remain free from all obligation with respect to any debts whatsoever which the House of Austria may have contracted, on the ground of the possession and of securities on the soil of the countries which it renounces by the present treaty.

X. The county of Salzburgh and of Berchtolsghaden, belonging to his Royal and Electoral Highness, Prince Ferdinand, shall be incorporated with the Empire of Austria, and his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria shall possess them in full property and sovereignty, but by the title of a Duchy only.

XI. His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, engages himself to obtain, in favour of the Archduke Ferdinand, Elector of Salzburgh, the cession of his Majesty the King of Bavaria, of the Principality of Wurtzburgh, such as it has been given to his said Majesty by the recess of the Deputation of the Germanic Empire, of the 25th Feb. 1803.

The Electoral title of his R. H. shall be transferred to this Principality, which to his R. H. shall possess in full property and sovereignty, in the same manner and on the same conditions that he possessed the Electorate of Saltzburgh.

And with respect to debts, it is agreed, that the new possessor shall stand charged only with those debts resulting from loans formerly agreed to by the States of the country, or the expences incurred for the effective administration of the said country.

XII. The dignity of the grand Master of the Teutonic Order, its rights, domains and revenues, which before the present war were dependencies of Mergentheim, the chief place of the Order; the other rights, domains and revenues, which shall be found to belong to the grand mastership at the present time of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty; as well as the domains and revenues in possession of which the said Order shall be, at the same epoch, shall become hereditary in the person and descendants in the direct male line, according to the order of primogeniture, in which ever of the Princes of the Imperial House as shall be appointed by his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon promises his good offices to obtain, as soon as possible, for his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand a full and entire indemnity in Germany.

XIII. His Majesty the Elector of Bavaria shall occupy the city of Augsberg and its territory, and unite them to his States, in full property and sovereignty. In the same manner the King of Wirtemberg may occupy, to his States, and possess in full property and sovereignty the county of Borndorff; and his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria engages himself to give no opposition.

XIV. Their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and

his most Serene Highness the Elector of Baden, shall enjoy over the territories ceded, as well as over their ancient estates, the plenitude of sovereignty, and all the rights resulting from it, which have been guaranteed to them by his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, in the same manner as his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, over their German States. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, both as chief of the empire, and as co-estates, engages himself not to oppose any obstacle to the execution of the acts which they may have made, or will make in consequence.

XV. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, as well for himself, his heirs and successors, as for the Princes of his House, their heirs and successors, renounces all the rights as well of sovereignty, as of paramount right to all pretensions whatsoever, actual or eventual, on all the States, without exception, of their Majesties, the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and of his most Serene Highness the Elector of Baden, and generally on all the states, domains, and territories comprised in the circles of Bavaria, Franconia, and Suabia, as well as to every title, taken from the said domains and territories; and reciprocally, all pretensions, actual or eventual, of the said States, to the charge of the House of Austria, or as Princes are, and shall be, for ever extinguished; nevertheless the renunciations contained in the present article, do not concern the properties which are by the 11th article, or which shall be by virtue of the 12th article above, conceded to their Royal Highnesses the Archdukes, named in the said articles.

XVI. The titles of the domains and archives, the plans and maps of the different countries, towns and fortresses ceded by the present treaty, shall be given up in the space of three months from the date of the exchange of the ratifications, to the persons that shall have acquired the property of them.

XVII. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon guarantees the integrity of the empire of Austria in the state in which it shall be in consequence of the present treaty of peace, as well as the integrity of the possessions of the Princes of the House of Austria, pointed out in the 11th and 12th articles.

XVIII. The high contracting parties acknowledge the independence of the Helvetic republic, as established by the act of mediation, as well as the independence of the Batavian republic.

XIX. The prisoners of war made by France and her allies from Austria, and by Austria from France and her allies, and who have not been yet restored, shall be restored within 40 days from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

XX. All commercial communications and relations are re-established in the two countries on the same footing as before the war.

XXI. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, shall maintain between them the same ceremonial as to rank and etiquette as was observed before the present war.

XXII. Within five days from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the town of Presburg, and its environs, to the extent of six leagues, shall be evacuated. Ten days after the said exchange, the French, and the troops of the allies of France, shall evacuate Moravia, Bohemia, the Viertel Unter Vienner, Wald, the Viertel Unter

Manhertsberg, Hungary, and the whole of Styria. In the ten following days they shall evacuate the Viertel Viennner Wald, and the Viertel Ober Manhertsberg; and finally, in the space of two months from the exchange of the ratifications, the French troops, and the troops of the allies of France, shall evacuate the whole of the Hereditary States of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, with the exception of the place of Braunau, which shall remain for one month at the disposal of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, as a place of depot for the sick and for the artillery.

No requisition, of whatever nature, shall be made of the inhabitants during that month. But it is agreed that at the expiration of the said month, no corps whatever of Austrian troops can be stationed or introduced within a circuit of six leagues around the said place of Braunau. It is in like manner agreed, that each of the places which are to be successively evacuated by the French troops within the times above-mentioned, shall not be taken possession of by the Austrian troops till eight and forty hours after the evacuation. It is also agreed, that the magazines left by the French army, in the places which they shall successively evacuate, shall remain at its disposal; and that the high contracting parties shall make an arrangement relative to all contributions of war whatsoever imposed on the different hereditary states occupied by the French, an arrangement in virtue of which, the raising of the said contributions shall entirely cease from the day of the exchange of the ratifications. The French army shall draw its provisions and its sustenance from its own magazines, established on the routes by which it is to proceed.

XXIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, commissaries shall be named on both sides to give up and receive in the names of their respective sovereigns, all parts of the Venetian territory, not occupied by the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy. The city of Venice, the Lagunes, and the possessions of Terra Firma, shall be given up in the space of fifteen days; Venetian Istria and Dalmatia, the mouths of the Cattaro, the Venetian Isles in the Adriatic, and all the places and forts which they contain, in the space of six weeks from the exchange of the ratifications. The respective commissaries will take care that the separation of the artillery belonging to the Republic of Venice from the Austrian artillery be exactly made, the former being to remain entirely to the kingdom of Italy. They will determine by a mutual agreement the kind and nature of the objects, which being the property of the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, are consequently to remain at his disposal. They will agree either on the sale to the kingdom of Italy, of the objects above-mentioned, or their exchange for an equivalent quantity of artillery, or other objects of the same, or a different nature, which shall have been left by the French armies in the hereditary states.

Every facility and every assistance shall be given to the Austrian troops, and to the civil and military administrations, to return into the Austrian states by the most convenient and sure ways, as well as to the conveyance of the imperial artillery, the naval and military magazines, and other objects which are not comprehended in the stipulations of sale or exchange which may be made.

XXIV. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged within the space of eight days, or sooner, if possible.

Done and signed at Presburg, the 26th December, 1805

THE END.

